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This first survey of community development in Canada attempts to give a conspectus of activities past, in progress, and planned, in the communities of the socially and economically deprived Indians, Negroes, and Eskimos. It examines the extent of commitment of federal and provincial governments to community programs and projects, and comments on the degree of balance between local needs and expert planning. In support of its claims for the interrelationship between theory and practice, it outlines four basic elements in community development. Against these and the classification of the types of programs (integrative, adaptive, project), it examines the relevance and success of numerous organizations and institutions. It concludes that, on the whole, the programs are few in number, irregular in quality, and uneven in distribution. Furthermore, it judges the lack of a "developmental" policy as the limiting factor in the national community development programs and in the assessment of the common needs of the communities. (The document includes an extensive bibliography and names and addresses of information sources.) (nl)

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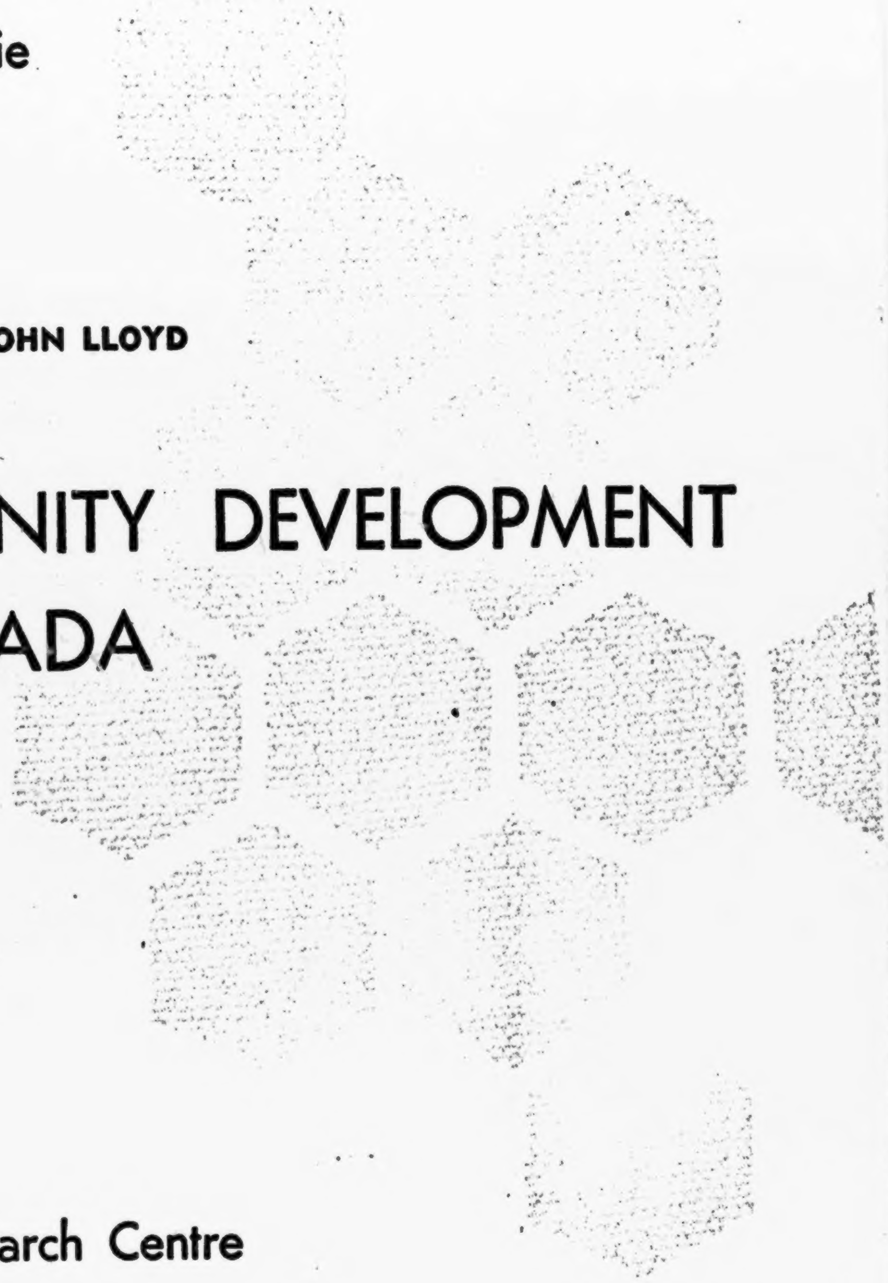

ANTONY JOHN LLOYD

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Document : 1

OTTAWA, CANADA
1967

This book is first in a series of publications that are intended to provide background on community development, socio-economic development, and social science.

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FOREWORD

When a study is to be placed in a context and given perspective it is frequently revealing to go back to its beginning. In this case the research requirement for the Master of Social Work degree, combined with an active inquiring interest in Community Development both as a subject and a field for professional endeavour, acted as stimuli for Mr. Lloyd to pursue this study during the academic year 1964-1965 at the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia.

It was perhaps fortuitous that this combination of circumstances also occurred when there were evident signs that Community Development activities were increasing in this country and there was a prospect they might come to have a major contribution to make in response to the demand for new approaches to human organization. So far as was known in the fall of 1964 no attempt had been made to bring together an accounting of the many different undertakings across Canada variously identified under the loose definition of Community Development. The starting point then was simply to find out with as broad an approach as possible to written materials and individuals, organizations and governmental departements what was taking place and what was thought about these programs, and their prospects.

Another kind of significance for this study emerged as data accumulated from a surprisingly diverse number of sources: the study might come to serve as a base from which anticipated developments in the future might be appraised. In an era of rapid change, and in an area of program itself undergoing change in theory and in practice, it is important to have a reasonable comprehensive vantage point. Already a need has been seen and proposals have been made for a central source for research and evaluation — a clearing house and documentary centre for Community Development in Canada.

It is with this situation in mind — the need for documentation — that the bibliography and appendix of this study become important. Already many of the individuals active in Community Development programs and contributors to this study have moved to other positions. This movement of personnel quite possibly illustrates how the impact of new and growing programs has opened new challenges for those in this field and created demands for qualified personnel far exceeding our present capacity to train them.

The written report of this survey does not attempt to catalogue in detail all the information received. It does, however, seek to isolate certain theoretical considerations and examine several issues that appeared relevant upon examination of the trends shown by the information received. Among these issues several might be mentioned: how can a synthesis be achieved of locally expressed needs and national goals for purposive change; how are peoples' customary practices changed, and how do they become involved in environmental change; how does the change agent respond to the frequent conflict between the policy of the agency he represents and the desires and interests of the community he serves? References to letters received frequently bring out the nature of problems faced by those establishing new programs. Thus the report is presented as a selection of factual material and a vehicle for raising questions and pointing up underlying issues. In addition, the seeming random and unrelated nature of many programs has given rise to some comments that seek to make a contribution to the planning of more coherent policies for developmental planning.

Two problems were encountered when the information was available. In the first place, by what criteria should a program be seen as having community development characteristics? For purposes of this report the four basic elements set out by the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs were used: (1) a planned program for the needs of the local community, (2) self-help as a basis for the program, (3) technical assistance from government and other organizations, (4) integration of specialist services.

The second problem was that of classification — was there any framework available for distinguishing major categories of community development? Fortunately, as Mr. Lloyd explains, experience in other countries has developed an extensive body of theory about the public administration aspects of community development programs. Drawing upon this source and utilizing it for comparison and classification purposes, three main types of programs have been identified: the integrative variety, the adaptive, and the project.

Beyond these two methods of classification, federal and the various provincial programs are distinguished in the chapters devoted to examination of the information collected.

Just a little more than a year has passed since this study was completed. In some respects it casts a shadow of the events that have followed in quick succession. The earlier focus of community development on programs for disadvantaged "native" peoples has both increased in tempo and been broadened. As Mr. Lloyd observed, "a start has been made to extend community development to other disadvantaged people regardless of colour". The announcement, in March 1965, by the Prime Minister of the government's intended anti-poverty program has been followed by a series of developments that can be traced from the program herein described. While many views on what community development is, and is capable of achieving, are extant, some measure of its emerging importance may be seen from a statement made in a paper by Mr. R. A. J. Phillips, Director of the Special Secretariat of the Privy Council at the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty held in December, 1965 : "Community development is more than a tool of an anti-poverty program : no anti-poverty program can be successful without community development."

William M. Nicholls
School of Social Work
University of British Columbia
July, 1966

ABSTRACT

During the last twenty years, community development has become a recognized way of dealing with problems in underdeveloped countries, but its application in industrialized countries is comparatively recent. In Canada, it has been chosen as one of the ways in which disadvantaged people can improve their living standards, develop their communities and utilize their resources.

This study has examined some important characteristics of community development pertinent to the projects and programs which have been initiated to combat the socially and economically deprived Indian, Eskimo and Negro communities.

To give a conspectus of all developmental activities in Canada, the study has examined the extent of federal and provincial participation in community development. It has considered, also, programs of adult education and leadership training.

Although the study has been in the nature of a survey, it has concluded that the commitment to community development in Canada has been too limited. The programs presently operating have been found to be too few in number, irregular in quality and uneven in distribution, and they have not been found to serve all deprived people throughout the nation. Until higher priorities and more funds have been apportioned to community development, it is believed that community development will remain limited.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the many who have contributed to the study and whose names are listed in the Appendix, the author is indebted. Without their help, little could have been written. Above all, however, thanks are due to Professor William Nicholls of the School of Social Work. His willing assistance, useful suggestions and insightful criticisms have added immeasurably to the study. The author is similarly grateful to Inge Lloyd whose observations, encouragement and typing of the draft and final copies have brought the study to completion.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For many reasons, political and economic, social and humanitarian, it has been desirable that underprivileged people throughout the world become involved with improving their living resources. Community development with respect to underdeveloped countries is no new matter, but it has been a recent innovation in Canada.

In Canada, limited programs and projects involving community development have been operating for several years in disadvantaged regions in which live, for the most part, Indians, Metis and Eskimos. The gradual realization that poverty, and its associated evils have created formidable social problems, has resulted in the recent expansion of community development programs for these people.

The discovery that the poverty and squalid conditions, with which Indians, Metis and Eskimos have contended for years, apply also to an increasing number of people across the country, has come as a shock to many Canadians. This awareness has generated a commitment to resolve newly emerging problems resulting from changing times and conditions. Community development has been chosen as one of the ways in which this can be done.

The purpose of this study has been to give a conspectus of activities, past, in progress and planned, in developing communities in Canada. It examines the extent of the commitment of federal and provincial governments to community development and surveys the types of programs and projects in each province.

This study has been written in conjunction with another, which has analyzed one of British Columbia's semi-rural Indian Reserves at Musqueam.[1] It had been hoped that the study of the community development programs would provide some guidelines for suggesting ways in which a community development program might possibly benefit Musqueam or Reserves of a similar type. Conversely, it was hoped that the way of examining Musqueam by means of systems analyses might offer a useful way of observing other communities about which detailed information may be required. However, it has been within the scope of these two studies to examine these implications in detail.

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[1] M. J. T. Kargbo, "Musqueam Indian Reserve: A Case Study for Community Development Purposes", Master of Social Work Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1965.

As far as it is possible to ascertain, no one yet has undertaken a survey of community development in Canada, and there are few people who are aware of the extent of community development activities throughout the country. Those who are, often have lacked the finer details of the programs and their latest developments.

Although there have been areas of agreement with respect to the usefulness and the principles of community development, there does not appear to be a consensus about its meaning. While many have acknowledged that the aim of community development has been to involve people in the changing economic and social life of the nation, many programs have neglected the social aspects. Many activities have focused on specialized fields, such as education, recreation, health, leadership training, etc., rather than on a balanced approach to a variety of community needs. Nevertheless, this study has included all programs which could be considered as developmental.

Information has been drawn mainly from letters, books and pamphlets obtained from many sources across the country. There has been no way of testing the validity of these sources, and what has been stated on the written page has been accepted at its face value, although it is unlikely that all projects, which have claimed success, have really enjoyed it.

Some provincial and federal authorities have provided more information than others, and almost no information was received from the provinces of Quebec and Saskatchewan. It would appear that the only way of gaining complete knowledge of programs would be to supplement the reports by means of discussions with those intimately concerned with policy-making for community development and those in the field.

No attempt was made to contact the religious organizations, conducting various projects connected with community development throughout Canada. While this has been doubtless a serious omission, time did not permit extending the enquiry. Moreover, a further inclusion of a variety of differing types of undertaking would have made this study too unwieldy.

Although it had been planned to include a section on training for community development, the attempt to gather information on this complex subject was soon abandoned. Information on this subject has been difficult to collect. Also, it was discovered that the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes were conducting an enquiry. Their report implies the complexity of the subject.[2]

No statistical way of evaluating the effectiveness of community development in Canada has been discovered. Until it is, it is considered that this will impose the severest limitations on any future studies on this subject.

A total of seventy-eight letters were sent to officials in a variety of organizations concerned with community development activities. The organizations were placed in the following categories:

Federal Government Departments
Indian Affairs Branches of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration
Citizenship Branches of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration
Provincial Government Departments
Departments of Education
University Departments, including Extension Departments
Educational Institutes
Miscellaneous

Replies were received from all but eighteen persons contacted. Of the eight letters sent to officials and university persons in Quebec, only three replies have been received. A list of the names and addresses of those who have sent written replies is included in Appendix A.

Published material, as well as other information, was requested of those approached by letter. The result has been the accumulation of an astonishing number and variety of booklets, pamphlets, maps and other material, explaining the multitude of programs and projects in Canada. The major part of the study is based on the information contained therein.

In the introductory and more general parts of the study, some of the voluminous material concerning community development throughout the world has been utilized. Publications of the United Nations have been relied on extensively.

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[2] ARDA, CAAE, ICEA, *National Consultation on Training for Community Development*, The Guild Inn, Toronto, January 31, February 2, 1965.

Chapter II

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter there is a general discussion of some important characteristics of community development. Following the stipulation of four basic elements which constitute community development in the strict sense the roles of the specialist and generalist worker is examined. Some space has been accorded the reasons for the growing interest in development and to the problems of its application. Finally, three types of programs are classified according to their administrative characteristics.

There have been countless attempts to define community development, but they have all tended to restrict rather than include those schemes which are peripheral to its main stream. As Lagassé points out, "if people insist on calling a project or program 'community development' the definition of that term must be comprehensive enough to include these other activities as well."[1] Strictly speaking, of course, this is unscientific, and one might restrict the definition by stipulating four basic elements about which there is some consensus. These are (1) a planned program for the needs of the total community, (2) self-help as a basis for the program, (3) technical assistance from government and other organizations, (4) integration of specialist services.[2] On the one hand, there is a variety of community development which may not possess all four ingredients. This will be called the specialist type. On the other hand, there is the general variety which does include them and involves continuing coordinated and purposive activity for changing a community. What these two types have in common and what distinguishes them from other developmental approaches is that they develop people at the same time as they develop communities.

A specialist or professional in community development has his main responsibility in one field of interest, such as education, health, agriculture, welfare, religion or recreation. His approach has often been that of the external agent or expert who diagnoses a situation, prescribes for its solution, persuades people to undertake his plan, and ultimately his success is measured and determined by the degree to which the project is accepted in the particular area which has been designated.[3] Another specialist approach is an extension of this, where a team of experts makes decisions which the community is then expected to endorse.

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[1] J. H. Lagassé, Address to Workshop on Community Development, Coady International Institute, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 1964, p. 3.

[2] United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, *Social Progress Through Community Development*, November, 1955.

The generalist has his main responsibility for overall development, and the means by which he achieves this is by encouraging the community to utilize its inner resources, to identify its own needs and, wherever possible, to effect the change themselves. Lagassé writes, "it seems to me that community development in its strictest sense is the generalist or village level worker as he is found in more than thirty countries presently experimenting with community development or having already established programs of their own."[4] In more advanced countries, such as Canada and the United States, which employ community development techniques amongst certain of their underprivileged peoples, there is a tendency to replace the village level by the specialist or professional person. This means that the specialist must learn to relate in a much more direct way with the "grass roots" of a community than is generally the case.

The idea of community development has evolved in the last two decades in an effort to find a new relationship with underdeveloped societies. "It is an attempt to get away from the implications of colonialism, imperialism, paternalistic administration and assimilation through disintegration ... One of its forerunners was its partial application to the problem of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States after the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934."[5]

Although the idea is not new, its application on a large scale to tackle national problems which have proven insoluble by other means, is new. Some of these problems found typically in underdeveloped areas are as follows. First of all, the basic human needs for food, improved health, housing, clothing, are far greater than the resources available. The gaps between what "underdeveloped" peoples are coming to expect and what their actual standard of living is, is steadily widening. Therefore, the demands on their governments for more and for better services are constantly increasing. Secondly, the largest proportion of a developing country's population lives in rural areas, but most of the services are available only in the urban centres. Thirdly, languages, culture and traditions differ throughout a developing country, and these, coupled with illiteracy and poor transportation and communication systems create cultural isolation and complicate administration. The existing social organization, economic structures and land tenure systems are often additional obstacles to change and require special measures, imagination and energy to overcome these elements. Fourth, a shortage of public revenue and trained personnel severely handicap public administration. Outside the cities, there is usually a lack of leadership, skills or funds to initiate the new services required for social and economic improvement.

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[3] M. G. Ross, *Community Organization : Theory and Principles*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1955, p. 8.

[4] Lagassé, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[5] H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw, S. M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1960.

Community development, in short, is expected to bring a measure of material gain to compensate for old values lost due to the impact of economic, social and technological changes. Under the heading of social change can be placed problems caused by urbanization and suburbanization and the failure of sections of the population to adjust to new situations. Inadequate numbers of houses, institutions for education and social services which at the present time have to strain hard to meet the natural increase in birthrate, will need replanning to meet the expanding world population. This population is growing by sixty millions each year, an increase of three to four percent per annum in some countries, and is complicated by declining infant mortality and increasing longevity. Kinship ties and tribal patterns are being disrupted by evacuation to cities and by mobility in search of work. Work patterns are disturbed by leisure, enforced and sought.

Technological change, made possible by the discoveries of scientific research, has produced the benefits and curses of automation. The effects of medicine, nuclear energy, communication and transport have their effect on almost every living person. Discoveries are cumulative — one invention makes possible the development of a host of new ones.

Economic change, due to the new inventions making industrial development possible, has brought unprecedented wealth to the world in recent years. Despite the carnage and utter waste of crippling wars, the "West" has every sign of becoming richer. In the underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, although there may be an increase in the gross national product and an annual rise in the real national income of as much as ten percent, the country's prosperity may be nullified by abnormal population growth or by corrupt and inefficient government, leading to a person or family being poorer than they were before.

Since these changes have failed to bring benefit to rural areas and instead have thrown out of balance the traditional modes of existence, it is clear that the peoples' needs should be considered. Indeed, the assumptions out of which community development has evolved, are almost entirely humanist. Some of these basic beliefs are that people desire to better themselves but remain frustrated whenever their personal and communal needs seem too great for the resources at hand. People are thought to suffer whenever they are unable to do anything about their needs. Much has been written about these assumptions which underlie the essentially democratic principle in any philosophy of community development.[6]

While it is an error to think that community development cannot be used except to establish a basis for national, social and economic growth, comparatively little has been written about it as a means to create conditions favourable to instituting necessary nationwide changes. "It is now widely acknowledged that people in their communities can facilitate or frustrate national purposes at many strategic points."[7] Therefore, if community development is to be a dynamic instrument for national purpose, there should be a creative synthesis of locally expressed needs and national goals "so that the effect of local involvement multiplies the opportunity for balanced social and economic development."[8] It is unrealistic and unimaginative, on the one hand, to deal only with people's felt needs, and on the other, futile to impose a preconceived plan on a community. A balance of the two is the best compromise.

How to obtain this balance is difficult to say. Where community development is most effective is a problem that evades analysis. In a world of rapid change, the traditional village may have to be replaced by groups of villages, even towns, in order for people to find a new sense of community. This sense of community may require a compromise that must place emphasis on the common interest rather than individual interest. "The traditional customs which often frustrate development are themselves the result of centuries of decision-making by people in their communities. They are now expected to review and revise traditional solutions in the light of modern knowledge and national requirements."[9]

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[6] See, for example, J. Ogden, "A Philosophy of Community Development", *Adult Leadership*, April 1958, p. 283; and United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-13.

[7] United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Ad Hoc* Report of Community Development Experts, 1963, p. 5.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Goodenough sees changing peoples' customary practices as one of the major tasks of community development.[10] The other has its emphasis in changing the environment. Environmental change need not involve community participation but when people are involved, it has been found that they are more likely to take advantage of the changes. Environmental change is followed by some change in customary practice and often the community must sometimes develop new ways of doing things to take advantage of changed conditions. Legal and political changes, for example, may be needed to correspond with economic changes.

Sometimes community development is aimed at changing some aspects of local custom to free the community for growth and development. If the community refuses to cooperate, then there is little that the change agent can do to force them to change. In environmental change the need for cooperation is less obvious, but even in this, change of custom is likely to be a long-range goal. "Sooner or later, then, change in the client community's customs is an essential feature of nearly every development situation. The problem of co-operation in purposive change is largely a problem of co-operation in customary change."[11]

For the change agent there is often a conflict between the policy of the agency he represents and the desires and interests of the community which he serves. In such cases, the interests of the community, in theory, should take precedence. Practically, however, the conflict is resolved in favour of the party holding power. If, for example, the specialist possesses the ultimate authority, he will probably make a compromise, if he is experienced.

> Regardless of how the conflict of wants is resolved, it is essential for development agents to know what the client community's actually are and to take them fully into account... neglecting to take account... is a major cause af failure in developmental programs.[12]

Success, then, requires co-operation between the people and their government and entails change in the environment and change in customary ways of doing things. In most countries where community has become recognized, the government has had to initiate the change.

To cope with the urgent tasks of bettering conditions, the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme has formulated an administrative proposal which is designed to accelerate social and economic development.[13] This calls for the creation of comprehensive plans for the allocation of resources on a functional and geographic basis, and the necessary legislative framework and funds for the program. Leadership, inspirational policies and technical standards, together with the training of personnel and creation of administrative machinery is also an essential part of the program. Research and supervision of decentralized units of services which will help introduce the new ideas and practices to the people in rural areas are seen as supremely important.

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[10] W. H. Goodenough, *Co-operation in Change*, Russell Sage, New York, 1963.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The purpose of decentralization is to "decongest" the capital and to prevent "swamping" of the legislature with the need to make minor decisions. Central location of materials and administrative resources delays such things as payments and permissions besides causing uneconomic distribution of supplies, retarded delivery and excessive adherence to regulations. Goods manufactured at one area for local use may be totally unusable at another part of the same country.

Over the years an extensive body of theory about the public administration aspects of community development programs has accrued.[14] For the purposes of comparison and classification three types of programs can be identified: The first is the integrative variety, the second, the adaptive and the third, the project.

The integrative program is usually country-wide in scope. It comprises not only the catalytic function at the community level, but also the coordination of technical services at all levels of government. The nationwide extension of these services must be coherent at the level at which they reach the people if the people are to understand and actively utilize them. In some cases new administrative machinery must be created within the traditional services in order to coordinate technical services at a point closer to the people. Administrative responsibility for the integrative program is best placed in a ministry that is neutral, does not have a vested interest in a particular aspect of a program and, therefore, can interest itself in an overall approach. "A neutral ministry is usually better able to obtain the cooperation of the several technical services than a functional ministry."[15]

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[13] United Nations, Technical Assistance Programme, *Decentralization for National and Local Development*, New York, 1962, pp. 5-6.

[14] United Nations, Technical Assistance Programme, *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes*, New York, 1959, pp. 5-9.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Characteristically, the integrative program contains a cabinet level committee in which the community development organizer acts as a secretary and consultant. At the state or provincial level, a development committee is comprised of representatives of local legislative and sometimes public and private welfare bodies. If the administrative districts for field coordination are too large or do not exist, this body must create new developmental areas, such as the "development blocks" found in India or the "areas of combined units" found in the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic. At the village level, workers must be trained both to act as a catalyst to initiate self-help and as a link between the villagers and the government technical services. They must also have a responsibility in calling to attention grants-in-aid and other inducements designed to spur on self-help efforts towards centrally established development goals.

Adaptive programs are so called because they can be adapted and attached to almost any department or prevailing branch of government. Although they are typically nationwide in scope, they are limited to the catalytic function of stimulating self-help and to liaison with the technical services available for the support of such community efforts.

There is a wide diversity in the structure of this type as the operating responsibilities are usually vested in the functional ministries, such as agriculture, forestry, social welfare, education or, sometimes, in a separate ministry for community development. The field organization is dependent on the administration district where the field activities of different departments may be coordinated. If such districts do not exist, they are arranged on an informal basis. In Puerto Rico, for example, the group organizers of the community education division, in the department of education, do not have formal ties with representatives of the technical departments. Where administrative districts exist, community development personnel are integrated into prevailing field organizations. However, as there are vast differences in forms of organization in the territories using the adaptive type and, because of the common policy of adapting the existing administrative framework to the purposes and methods of community development, it is not advisable to abstract too many typical features. To summarize the preceding points, one might say that the adaptive category serves only incidentally "as a channel of planned development and involves little change on the organization of government."[16]

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

While most of the community development programs in Africa and the Caribbean area are of the adaptive type, the project type programs predominate in Latin America. The very name implies the limited geographic area which projects encompass. It implies too that projects prevail where a government is not fully committed to the community development approach or has not the resources to undertake a more extensive design. Often, however, projects are used to demonstrate the possible direction for a countrywide program. This has occurred frequently in developed countries, and underdeveloped ones such as Iran and Afghanistan.

From the administrative point of view, projects can be interministry in character with the responsibility in the hands of a functional ministry, or it can be under an autonomous agency under the general direction of a government authority. A third possibility is the multifunctional character with responsibility for both the policy and the administration vested in a single department. The structures of project-type programs are usually such that they cannot be extended to a nationwide basis without interfering with the operations of other government agencies. However, projects can establish services of a tentative or exploratory nature in remote areas for which regular ministries could later assume responsibility.

Programs in all categories tend to be unstable in the sense that they are dynamic in movement. "It is possible to visualize a logical progression from the project to the integrative to the adaptive type — or from the adaptive to the integrative and then back again to the adaptive type — after which a stage might be reached in which special government machinery to stimulate community development became unnecessary." [17]

Many countries have elements of all programs. Mr. Brownstone, Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs in Saskatchewan, when writing about the pattern of his government and its relation to the federal administration, has observed :

> It would appear, therefore, that despite significant differences in general economic, social and technological environment, we do encounter many of the situations which confront the countries you are concerned with. Thus, our integrated administrative system applies where development and technical standards require provincial control over staff. Our partnership system applies where economic maturity is sufficiently advanced and local competence in government has developed. [18]

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[18] United Nations, Technical Assistance Programme, *Decentralization*, p. 13.

Integrative types of program require greater planning but the adaptive type cannot be regarded as a device to get cheaply the same results. It may be necessary, in view of political considerations, to start with a project program, and then gradually introduce an adaptive and finally an integrative program. Whatever type is used, coordination and co-operation of services at all levels of administration is essential. Failure to develop and maintain communications between services has led to some curious administrative muddles typically illustrated in the following examples. In one case, a dam was built by the ministry of works to provide irrigation where the ministry of agriculture had shown in a soil survey that the land would be useless, if watered. In another case, a ministry of agriculture recommendation promoted use of a seed type "A", while the banks would only permit farmers credit for seed type "B". The plan of one ministry to build a housing estate on a particular site was well advanced, when someone discovered that another ministry's plans to turn the same area into a reservoir were equally well advanced. A lack of coordination between health and education authorities resulted in a vaccination team arriving at a school at the same time as the term examinations were scheduled.[19]

No attempt has been made in this section to write about the basic elements and process involved when a community development generalist or specialist undertakes to stimulate community involvement and change. These have been well covered in the literature, in the form of instruction booklets for village workers, guide lines for research and community analysis and study kits for guiding group discussion, seminars and workshops.[20] Nor has there been an exhaustive examination of the principles and assumptions upon which community development is based. What the preceding pages have done is to isolate some theoretical considerations which will facilitate the examination of Canada's present commitment to the community development approach.

Before continuing to the content of the specific projects and programs, some space has been devoted to "setting the scene" for Canada to show in what context community development has been required to operate.

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 7-8.

[20] See, for example, "Training Aids and Handbooks", listed in the *General References* of the Bibliography.

CHAPTER III

INDIANS, METIS, ESKIMOS AND NEGROES: DISADVANTAGED CANADIANS

Canada is a country peopled by immigrants. Even the oldest inhabitants — the Eskimos and Indians — are not, strictly speaking, native to Canada. Leaving them aside, for a moment, three categories of ethnic groups have evolved in Canada.[1] The first is comprised of the two large basic groups, the English and the French (including the Acadian French) who have, by and large, joined hands in a national partnership. The second group is made up of the homogeneous localized ethnic communities living in rural areas, and the third is a voluntary grouping of common ancestry in the larger cities and towns of the Dominion. The few hundred Metis settlements on the prairies, the isolated Eskimo settlements and the thousand or so Indian communities living on Reserves have developed in a totally different way.

Community development programs and projects have been established to cope with serious socio-economic problems amongst disadvantaged people. In Canada, these have been associated with long standing problems of the Indian, Metis and Eskimo people. These problems are examined in this chapter, together with the Negro problem, which, having become apparent recently in Canada, has been dealt with briefly at the end.

> Contrary to the usual ethnic local community, Indians and Metis settlements are responsible for very little locally except the birth rate.[2]

Practically all administration and services are in the hands of outsiders, and consequently, they are at the end of a long chain of command over which they have no control. These extra-community systems, comprised of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship & Immigration for the Indians, the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for the Eskimos, and provincial authorities for the Metis, have not provided an atmosphere conducive to the engendering of a community spirit. No amount of propaganda and specious arguments to the contrary can disguise that the "native" on leaving his settlement or Reserve is ill-prepared to move into the broader Canadian community. Father Renaud, writing about the Indian, states :

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[1] A. Renaud, *Indian and Metis and Possible Development as Ethnic Groups*, Centre for Community Studies, Saskatoon, 1961, p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

> If we want to be frank with ourselves, we must confess that never have we truly and wholeheartedly acknowledged the right of Indian communities to readjust themselves as communities, and to assume their normal role as breeders of Canadians. For fear of being accused of segregation, we have unconsciously or not denied the Indian the right to persevere as an ethnic group, whether on the reserve or elsewhere. As a nation, and through the intermediary of our national government, we have taken it upon ourselves to rethread the natural products of Indian communities and groups in such a way as to bring about complete assimilation into the general stream of our society.[3]

It is convenient when discussing the "Indian question" to understand three major facets of it.[4] The first, to which reference has just been made, is the cultural-ethical problem. Simply stated, this poses the question : Should Indians be permitted or encouraged to live their traditional lives or break with the past in order to become contemporary Canadians ? Until about 1930, government administration had been characterized by preserving the *status quo*. Ostensibly, the reserve system originated as a guarantee of protection against exploitation, but by segregating the native in such places "perhaps the hope of the early settlers, that the Indian population of this country would eventually die out was not completely wrong..."[5]. Jenness calls the reserve system "apartheid" and observes that its outcasts have little opportunity to diversify their activities and improve their status. "The Federal policy in general has been not to take any really decisive action, either to try to protect reserves from white influence or to speed the assimilation of Indians into the dominant Canadian way of life."[6] This vacillation has led to confusion, both for Indians, and for white men. Some Indians desire no part of the white man's society. Secure in their reserves, surrounded by the vestiges of their culture, there are many who wish to follow the ancestral modes of behaviour and subsistence. Renaud believes that the inherent vitality and adaptability of the Indians "have taken into account all our attempts at assimilation and integration and devised appropriate defence mechanisms or 'cultural antibiotics'."[7] Nevertheless, Zentner finds that in Southern Alberta, at least, the rate of

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[4] C. W. Hobard, "Non-Whites in Canada, Indians, Eskimos, Negroes," *Social Problems*, Ed. R. Laskin, McGraw Hill, Toronto, 1964, p. 87.

[5] Indian Advisory Committee Proceedings, Official Court Report, New Westminster, 1964, p. 4.

[6] Hobart, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[7] Renaud, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Indian assimilation is quickening rapidly and that the Indian youth "believes also that the time has come for him to cease being Indian in the traditional sense and simply be a citizen and a person."[8]

Indicating the direction and change in the Indian culture of British Columbia, for example, Hawthorn has written :

> Our research work takes as axiomatic that the acculturative change of the Indian is irreversible and is going to continue, no matter what is done or desired by anyone. If present trends are maintained, change will go on to a final point of nearly complete cultural assimilation and racial amalgamation.[9]

This change has become increasingly rapid in the last few years, not only in British Columbia but in all of Canada. Even at the most rapid rate of change, however, acculturation and assimilation into the wide community will not happen for decades, for the majority of the native peoples who live in remote areas. Doctor Monture prefers the term "integration" for it means

> still retaining pride of your own racial characteristics, pride in your tradition and the achievements of your race, but blending, if you like, with the other people. Whereas assimilation, ..., is where the Indians as a racial or ethnic group would be completely merged and lost in the Canadian economy or citizenry.[10]

On the other hand, absorption into the existing Canadian cultures has been happening for years, and many Indians are indistinguishable in those cultures from the general population. Evidence would suggest that once acculturation takes place, the Indian is unlikely to return to the traditional way of life. What makes the total picture confused during this transitionary period is that some sections of the native population resist change while others welcome it. This change proceeds at highly variable rates, differing from region to region. This is one reason why the planning of comprehensive programs and the administration of Indian affairs is fraught with difficulties.

A gradual change in government policy has been occurring since the end of the Second World War and has been punctuated by several amendments to the Indian Act. These amendments have resulted in a policy, the planning of which, for the first time on any scale, the Indians have shared. They have been participating actively in their own destiny by attending meetings, presenting briefs and expounding their views.

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[8] H. Zentner, "Cultural Assimilation between Indians and non-Indians in Southern Alberta", *Social Problems*, Ed. R. Laskin, McGraw Hill, Toronto, 1964, p. 116.

[9] Hawthorn, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[10] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *The Way of the Indian*, Toronto, 1963, p. 58.

> While legislative changes and alterations in branch programs have been extensive, the change in government policy in recent years can be described quite simply : to extend to Indians all the services available to other citizens while recognizing such traditional rights as are theirs under the treaties.[11]

Changes which have occurred have been due largely to economic, social and technological pressures, rather than humanitarian considerations — pressures which have not only precipitated underdeveloped nations into the rigours of twentieth century life, but which also have exposed the native peoples of Canada to parallel conditions.

Common to all countries is an increase in population and the second facet of the "Indian problem" concerns itself with this biological aspect.

Concern for Indians has mounted because they are increasing in such numbers that they cannot be ignored. Early in the century, disease and the collapse of traditional society had drastically depleted the population, but slowly at first, then at a gradually accelerating rate, the annual increase has reached about 3.3 percent, giving a total of 198,220 at March 31, 1963, and 204,796 at March 31, 1964.[12]

One implication of these figures is that the traditional ways of earning income, where they still exist, provide a decreasing income for an increasing population. In 1962-1963, almost fifty percent of the Indian families each earned less than $1,000.00 per year and almost seventy-five percent earned $2,000.00 or less. Another implication is that expenditure for relief has tripled in five years. Lagassé expresses concern about the population growth in Manitoba. The circumstances there could well represent the situation throughout Canada. He writes :

> There are over 1,500 births of Indian descent every year, which means that if we are to hold ground we should have 1,500 successful integrations. So each year that we are not providing for 1,500 integrations, we are losing ground. There were 8,000 Indians in Manitoba in 1870. Now there are 23,000 people who are still not economically independent. Now, next year there will be more ... nothing short of a crash program will reduce the number.[13]

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[11] W. Dunstan, *Canadian Indians Today*, Canadian Geographical Journal Reprint, Ottawa, December, 1963, p. 8.

[12] *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch*, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, years ending March 31, 1963, and March 31, 1964, Ottawa.

[13] CBC, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

Some reservations have become so overpopulated that Indians are forced off the reserves by lack of space as well as inadequate subsistence.

The third facet of the problem is motivational. When the white man came, alcohol, exploitation, prostitution, violence and destruction came with him. And to combat these evils, along came the missionaries to proselytize amongst the savage, ignorant races. The arts, drama and ceremonials which had reached a high point prior to the coming of the white man, were suppressed under the churches' belief that such things were evil. Christianity outlawed the Potlatch, but did nothing to replace it.

The collapse of the traditional tribal culture, the introduction of the white man's religion and culture have made it difficult for an adjustment to entities such as wages, jobs and timekeeping. Even if the Indian wants to work, and the Reserve system has not been notably successful in reducing the trend to chronic dependency, it is not easy for him to be employed in or out of the Reserve. There are few towns in whose industries he might be employed, and on the Reserve the "saleable skills of the Indians across Canada are lower than the national average."[14] Indians will have to alter their values in accordance with changing national conditions, if ever they are to be fully accepted in society on the same basis as other Canadians. It could not be claimed, of course, that a change in values alone would result suddenly in their successful integration or improvement in their living conditions, but it would undoubtedly be of assistance.

From the nation's point of view, the integration of Indians into the social and economic life of the country is only common sense. Indians also, generally speaking, are satisfied no longer with a static existence. The younger generations especially require some of the comforts and conveniences of modern times. Education is being regarded as essential in some Bands, although it is observed ironically, that increased education has not produced more elevated jobs for most of those who have it. However, "as our society becomes more technical, the educational level goes up, and as the educational level goes up, those people who are not going very far in school get farther and farther behind."[15] The educational picture is grave when one compares Indian people with non-Indians. In British Columbia, for example, seventy percent of the non-Indians who start school attain

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[14] Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *The Indian in Transition — Indians Today*, Ottawa, 1964, p. 6.

[15] Indian Advisory Committee Proceedings, p. 143.

Grade twelve, while a little more than one percent of the native people even get that far.[16] It is not a question of intelligence; it is an inadequate preparation for school, both in the community and in the home. Because the father has no education, the son feels it is not necessary for him, and unless parents see that education "pays off", it might be difficult to change this attitude.

Indians have become accustomed to being underprivileged people. For years their chances for obtaining education have been minimal, especially in remote areas. Credit and other helpful features of the capitalist society have not been available to them, because the rights and privileges extended by treaty exemptions from property seizure and taxation on income earned on Reserves have prevented Indians from offering acceptable collateral for bank loans. Where Band funds are available, Indians sometimes are able to borrow from them. The Indian Affairs Branch also provides assistance from parliamentary appropriation and a revolving loan fund. Available in rural areas, there is a rotating cattle herd program. Under this program the progeny of a basic herd may be retained by the Band, who has borrowed the herd for a period. These and other programs in practice, however, have relation only to the more industrious Indians and have little application to those who are not motivated to work. And many do not wish to work. They and others, to whom the adjectives drunken, shiftless, dirty, untrustworthy, lazy and unpunctual may be justifiably applied, contribute to a pejorative stereotype, which is then used to describe all Indians. To a considerable extent, the feelings of inferiority and inadequacy from this stereotype have been accepted and internalized by the Indians.

The "Eskimo problem" is of more recent origin than that to the Indian. In 1956 a cry of horror shattered Canadian complacency when the news of starving communities filtered south. A crash program dealing with education, health, job placement, vocational training and land survey was launched hurriedly amongst the twelve thousand Eskimos.

Many of the conditions confronting Eskimos are similar to those facing Indians, but in addition, Eskimos have to contend with the depletion of the caribou which have traditionally fed and clothed them and provided them with weapons. Many of the settlements which have been established to help them have drawn Eskimos away from the places where they could find traditional subsistence resources. In the late 1950's the establisment of Distant Early Warning line sites, which brought heavy equipment, airplanes, radio and generators, has decisively changed his life.

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[16] *Ibid.*

> The breakdown of motivation, and the increase of dependency is becoming rather general. "Education for what" is a pressing issue, both in terms of how people should be educated, and in terms of what kinds of work are available to those who have acquired perhaps 4 or 6 or 8 grades of schooling.[17]

There is a growing problem in connection with Canada's third "non-white" group. The increasing segregation of Negroes from whites in areas such as Toronto and Halifax, is causing concern, as is the tendency in those cities to discriminate against them in employment. While it may be argued that the problems facing this group are not, at present, as pressing as those facing rural communities, the problems connected with their submergence in the city perhaps raise issues for the future. By 1980 it is estimated that eighty percent of Canada's population will live in urban places. Although white newcomers to the city will not be subjected to the indignities with which Negroes have to contend, avenues must be kept open for their assent or dissent in the affairs that concern them. It may be conjectured that urban community development will have, as one of its major tasks, this job of maintaining these channels for communication. To this end much work has to be done because, as Baker suggests, "the ideas of community development coming from underdeveloped countries or from smaller rural communities may not be those needed for the urban setting."[18]

Some of the problems, surrounding the peoples of Indian ancestry, the Eskimos and the Negroes, have been discussed in this chapter. The existence of poverty amongst these groups has been acknowledged generally, but it is less well-known how the tentacles of poverty have threaded their ways throughout white Canadian populations, particularly in rural areas.

In addition to the programs and projects of community development amongst the "native" peoples, a start has been made in extending community development to other disadvantaged people regardless of colour.

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[17] Hobart, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[18] Baker, W. B., "A Prospectus on the Role of Organizations and Interest Groups in Urban Community Development" *Community Development.* Canadian Conference on Social Work, Winnipeg, 1962.

CHAPTER IV

FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

No countrywide integrated federal plan of community development has been initiated in Canada as this has been considered beyond the direct sphere of activity of federal agencies. Nevertheless, four federal departments have quite recently entered the field in one form or another. The largest program in this field is that of the Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Act, administered through the Department of Forestry. The Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration is at present introducing a program. The third federal agency in this field is the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and the fourth is the Department of National Health and Welfare.

The methods, use and extent of community development work under these four departments will be surveyed briefly in this chapter.

AGRICULTURAL REHABILITATION & DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION (ARDA)

Concern for poverty in rural areas gave rise to the Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Act being passed in 1961. It was seen as a means of developing national, provincial and local programs to encourage the growth of agriculture and local industry and, therefore, to help people living on low incomes. Research undertaken during the first years has unearthed criteria for defining rural poverty, and "economic and social disadvantage" has been illustrated on a series of nine maps. These indicate very clearly that rural poverty is more widespread and severe in Eastern Canada, generally east of the Ottawa River. Newfoundland, Northern New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Eastern Quebec are particularly disadvantaged. Although there are almost three times as many farms west of the Ottawa River as there are east of it, there are about twice as many low income farm families in the latter region. There are likewise higher percentages of low-income rural non-farm families and low rural wage earners in the East than in the West. A similar state of affairs exists in low rural educational levels.[1]

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[1] M. Sauvé, *Rural Poverty in Canada*, Notes for Address to Manitoba Farmer's Union, Winnipeg, December, 1964, pp. 9-10.

While it is true that, when "incomes are not high enough to allow people to live according to normally accepted standards nor quite low enough to die on quickly and without complications,"[2] shortage of money is not the root cause of rural poverty. The ARDA administration is continuing to undertake research into the immensely complex problem of poverty in order to identify, isolate and examine the fundamental causes. These involve such things as lack of mobility, lack of opportunity, lack of information, lack of capital as well as regional factors. Sauvé writes that the most important single factor, however, is that concerned with education, and that "even with eight years of education, a person still has insufficient formal schooling to suit him for training in specialized skills. Yet unskilled jobs are becoming more and more scarce, even in rural areas."[3]

If research has gone part way in establishing the need, what is ARDA doing about it ? The first three years are considered to have been a pilot project. During this time, or more strictly, since January, 1963, when the general agreement really got under way, nearly seven hundred projects have been initiated at a cost of sixty million dollars, shared about evenly between federal and provincial governments. The projects have fallen into four categories : (1) social and economic research projects, (2) projects for alternative uses of land, (3) projects for soil and water conservation, (4) projects for rural development to permit development of resources and the creation of income and employment opportunities. The indirect increase in extra income to people affected by projects in the last three categories is hard to calculate, as the provision of better community services due to extra taxes has benefitted whole communities and not merely individuals.

While the key to ARDA's activities is involvement of people with the specialist in agricultural, industrial or forestry matters, etc., "community development, as a process, has tended to take second place to resource manipulation in the ARDA program."[4] During the next five year period, from April, 1965, to April, 1970, community development techniques and methods are to be given a high priority. It has been found in the first three years that the scatter gun approach using more or less *ad hoc* projects all over the country does not drive at the heart of the problem of poverty in rural areas. "All resources, not only agriculture, have to be considered... there are more low-income rural people living off farms in Canada than living on farms."[5]

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[2] *The Sixties : Rural Poverty, What Can ARDA Do ?*, Canadian Association for Adult Education, Pamphlet No. 1, 1964, p. 4.

[3] Sauvé, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[4] Letter from D. F. Symington, 9 January, 1965, file 667. (All footnote references to letters in this study, for purposes of brevity, omit the writer's title or position, organization and address. These details have been furnished in Appendix A.)

Under the new agreement 125 million dollars is earmarked for the next five years in contrast to the 50 million for the previous three years. Provisions for land use adjustments are substantially the same, but new is the provision for federal participation in farm consolidation programs. It is essential that the majority of farms in Canada become larger in order to become financially sound. For those who are "disfranchized", retraining in vocational and technical skills will be provided. This will also apply to other rural people living in areas where the resource base is inadequate or where the problem is one of mobility.

There will also be training and increased use of rural development officers to work in disadvantaged regions. These areas may include Indian Reservations as well as other rural districts. In conjunction with this, the federal government will share the cost of resource development projects that can directly increase employment and income opportunities. In extremely disadvantaged regions, to be known as special rural development areas, special provisions for economic stimulation is to be attempted in any rational way that research and imagination can devise. Fifty millon dollars of federal funds are available for this purpose.

These developments are only in the earliest stages of planning. As for the training of community development officers, ARDA has contracted with the CAAE and ICEA to determine what the needs are for trained community development workers. In this connection, a conference of professionals in the field to define specifically the type of training needed and to recommend training facilities commensurate with the need, was held at the end of January, 1965. It is also understood that four ARDA personnel will be receiving training along with the community development specialists of the Indian Affairs Branch, starting March, 1965.

The new agreement thus assumes

> That there is a way to enable the hard-pressed segment of rural people to do something more than eke out a slim living with the aid of income supports. It rejects the idea that low-income rural people are pre-ordained to remain alienated from the main dynamic stream of our society.[6]

However bold and excellent the concept may be, its realization means bridging the gap between the federal concept and the provincial capability. The first ARDA agreement between the two levels of government probably qualifies as a most important document in the history of federal-provincial relations, as it lays out the basis for an effective level of consultation and coordination between them. There remain, however, practical difficulties in achieving "federal interdepartmental organization required to focus all relevant federal programs on a given 'disavantaged' region in a coherent way, and secondly, achieving similar coherence in given provinces." [7] From the provincial viewpoint, it is sometimes difficult, from a political point of view, to agree with the federal authorities, as required for intensive development. Also ARDA funds do not represent a sufficiently large proportion of total provincial budget to influence basic provincial policies and priorities.

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[5] A. T. Davidson, Notes for a Speech, Speech to Saskatchewan Farmers' Union, Saskatoon, December, 1964.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Significant progress is possible, on the other hand.

> A case in point is the Canada Land Inventory being conducted by ARDA, where federal money, combined with real federal technical competence, interdepartmental co-ordination and a sensitive awareness of provincial problems and priorities, seems to be resulting in a joint effort which meets the national objective and goes a long way toward meeting provincial objectives.
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> Similarly, in other portions of the ARDA program, there is evidence of increasing co-ordination among federal departments in the area of social and economic programs and resource use planning. The problems here are, of course, infinitely more complex than the land inventory, and the development of a successful program will be commensurately difficult. My own feeling on this is that the role of the federal government has three rather distinct parts:
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> (1) contributing funds to provincial governments conditional on their being spent within the intent of the ARDA Act,
>
> (2) achieving coherence in federal programming relative to rural development, and
>
> (3) developing a conceptual framework on the basis of adequate research, and maintaining intimate liaison with provincial planners — including where necessary the provision of federal technical "expertise".
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> In summary, I may say that the ARDA program as it has developed consists largely of *ad hoc* projects of land use adjustment and resource management, and of research relative to both physical and social resources. Most provinces have established community development at a low level in their system of priorities, and there is as yet no coherent definition of need in this area. This may be due in part to the inadequacy of the knowledge of the kind, degree, location, magnitude and consequence of rural poverty, because the field research simply hasn't been done. (The Canadian Welfare Council is, however, undertaking a small field research

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[7] Letter from D. F. Symington, 17 February, 1965, file 970.11/9.

project in four rural areas under contract to ARDA, and this may result in a suitable guideline for further research.) However, the ARDA program has had a significant if not easily measurable effect in drawing attention to the problem, focussing federal and provincial programs on it, and establishing an intellectual climate which enables significant advances to be made.[8]

Indian Affairs Community Development Program

This is a newly approved program to cost three and one half million dollars over the next three years. This money will provide the program with supplies and salaries and a special project fund. Recruitment of some fifty community development specialists and their aides is progressing quite well and the first training courses at a residential training school are to run from late March until the end of June and from about September until December, 1965. Therefore, the first trainees will not be posted in the field until early July.

What is proposed is a broad program of community development without abolishing the reserve system. It consists of two essential elements, the first of which is participation by the Indians in projects of their choosing. This personal involvement is important because "the greatest success has been experienced where the responsibility for establishing the direction of change and the rate of change, has been accepted by the local people, where the local people have established the objectives according to their 'felt' needs."[9]

The second element is the provision of support and technical services by governmental agencies. In areas which are ripe for development, it must be assumed that there do not exist adequate resources to meet the needs. Government bodies should not dominate, induce or seize the initiative. Community development must start where the local people are and move at a slow pace necessary in all educational ventures. "The government must be like a silent partner ready to offer advice and guidance and technical assistance when requested."[10]

As Lagassé has stated,

> It is very necessary once the local people have become organized and that projects emerge from their initiative, that outside funds be available to them. This means the setting up of some type of community development funds available to make grants and loans as required. Under Indian Affairs Branch structure, such funds are available from the revolving

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] J. B. Carroll, *Partnership in Community Development*, Address to Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Regina, 1963, p. 4.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

> funds. At the same time, one must not lose sight of the great many sources of loan funds and voluntary bursaries that are available from the community at large. In community development you try to help the local people gain access to the same resources as are available to other citizens.[11]

Some space has been devoted, in the discussion of the ARDA program, to the matter of the public administration components involved in a federal-provincial scheme, as it is assumed that many of the problems encountered will have relevance to, and share similar characteristics with, the Indian Affairs program. Dyson writes :

> No community development program can be usefully gotten under way unless there is an adequate set of relationships and liaison developed with many technical resources that can be drawn upon at all levels, both governmental and non-governmental ... My own department (National Health and Welfare), through its Welfare Branch has been cooperating to a considerable degree with the Indian Affairs Branch in designing, negotiating and establishing this community development program, both for its own sake and because of its relationship to welfare programs.[12]

At the same time, agreements with the provinces are now under discussion to introduce community development programs into the Reserves. Those provinces, having programs of their own, namely Manitoba, Alberta, Quebec and Nova Scotia, will be deeply involved in the federal program, but so far, on this point, no specific information is available.

Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

Some of the programs of this department have community development aspects but these have not been formalized into a major program as has been the case with the two previously mentioned departments. The emphasis has been along the lines of economic development although, as always, it is impossible to divorce social from economic considerations.

The Department was created in 1953, as it was necessary to do something about the accumulation of social ills in the north and to tackle the question of how to enable a gradually increasing population to support itself in areas of limited food resources. In addition, the north was becoming important for its mineral wealth — and modern communication rendered possible the exploitation of such richness.

The government appears to be striving for two levels of economic development. The first is a long term venture and includes mining, timber and hydro-electric operations, and the second is a short-term plan to ameliorate present ills by encouraging the northern peoples to exploit whatever resources there are.

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[11] Letter from J. H. Lagassé, 25 November, 1964.
[12] Letter from W. A. Dyson, 28 January, 1965.

In connection with the long term development, mining is by far the most important. Jenness believes that a way to developing the north is for the government to encourage mining concerns to invest in the north. In doing so, the companies would be expected to hire local labour rather than fly in personnel from the south. Where necessary, on-the-job training should be instituted for Indians and Eskimos. Where this has been done in Alaska, satisfactory results have occurred" . . . if we in Canada had demanded a similar preference for residents of our Northwest Territories before the opening up of Yellowknife, we might see today three to four hundred prosperous and upstanding Indians working alongside white men in that town's gold mines, instead of idling all summer . . . waiting for government treaty payments and welfare allowances.[13]

Jenness sees the scourge of destitution amongst the Indians and Eskimos as being insoluble until remunerative jobs can be found for them. But to rely on one industry to do this is dangerous. "We are putting most of our eggs into one basket, staking the future of the Eskimos on the hazard of the mining industry in the far north, and making little provision for any alternative or additional economic base, should industry fail to live up to our hopes."[14]

The government has, however, tried to find alternatives in the Arctic but has failed. Some critics believe that more should be done to initiate schemes to provide jobs and underwrite industrial developments, even though they might operate at a loss. What prevents this, in some measure, is political expediency, as there would be a public outcry about the drain of tax money to the north country.

The alternative is the short term type of development. It is in this kind of program that the use of co-operatives is useful. Co-operatives help people in many parts of the world towards a solution of their economic problems. In Canada, the two departments concerned are the federal Department of Northern Affairs and the Province of Quebec's Département des Richesses Naturelles. The co-operatives, established under their auspices, have offered their members the opportunity to receive a better return for what they produce, and the experience of accepting responsibility for the management of their own affairs. The first were officially incorporated in 1959 at Port

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[13] D. Jenness, *Eskimo Administration*, II, Canada, Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 14, Montreal, 1964, pp. 170/171.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Nouveau Quebec, P.Q., and Port Burwell, in the Northwest Territories. There are now nineteen co-operatives in the Territories and Northern Quebec, and one credit union in Yellowknife. Their membership totals over five hundred, or about one out of five Eskimo families. Eighteen of the co-operatives are all Eskimo, one is Indian and another has a mixed membership of Eskimos, Indians and whites. Most are engaged in such activities as commercial fishing, arts and crafts, logging, store operation, boat building, housing and fur garment manufacture.

Vallee observes that, while some of these co-operatives exist only on paper, others have a potential of outstanding significance in social organization in the Arctic.[15] What has hampered their importance in this respect is that the formation of all co-operatives has been on the instigation of the white man. It has been the latter who has supplied the capital, the technical assistance and the marketing services. The white man also supervises their operation from behind the scenes and though the decisions on behalf of the co-operative are made by an Eskimo board, these decisions are usually in line with what the white advisor thinks important. It is acknowledged, of course, that certain aspects of the operation must be handled by the white man because there is no Eskimo precedent for such things as accounting, pricing and correspondence.

Of importance to the social organization in the Arctic are the settlements. These, typically, comprise of physical services such as a nursing station or hospital, radio shack, administration office, a school, a police headquarters, a church, a store and some houses. Perhaps an army or airforce base and construction or mine camp might add to the complex, which will serve as an economic and social centre for a very large area. These settlements are becoming increasingly popular, as those still involved in hunting and trapping are often tempted to abandon their traditional pursuits when they see settlement Eskimos prospering. Also, many land Eskimos are not anxious for their children to undergo the hardships which they, the parents, have had to endure.

Rudnicki has noticed some trends in the north.[16] He says that there is a pronounced tendency for the northern population to be concentrated in the settlements; that the old ways of life are vanishing forever; that settlements are becoming grossly overpopulated. These have implications in the community development field, both for economic development through increased use of co-operatives, and in terms of helping new settlers adjust to new values, customs and expectations. Without assistance, many newcomers are unable to find jobs or fit the changed work patterns and they are unable to understand and use the services available.

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[15] F. G. Vallee, *Notes on the Co-Operative Movement and Community Organization in the Canadian Arctic*, American Association for Advancement of Science, Montreal, 1964, p. 2.

[16] W. Rudnicki, "Creating Northern Communities: Problems and Possibilities," *Community Organization, Community Planning and Community Development*, Council on Social Work Education, New York, 1961.

As this is a very broad area for concern, the social worker must have a community development focus. He is expected to plan, administer, be consultant to, and be involved in, education, health and financing arrangements.

> These endeavours underline the fact that his concern is the whole community and that his efforts as a social worker are most fruitful when he is creating conditions which enable people to develop and function adequately and independently.[17]

While the community approach can certainly ameliorate certain conditions, Jenness argues that a more radical and more far-reaching solution to the problem of the northern population is required.[18] He believes by the end of the decade the employment picture will have deteriorated as mining is advancing into the north too slowly to supply the three thousand jobs required by 1970 and the one hundred additional ones needed each year. Morale will be lower, as the increased education now available will demonstrate to the younger generation the attractions of life available to more fortunate people than themselves. Mounting juvenile delinquency and other crime will necessitate jail, preventive services and more trained personnel to run them.

Why insist that the Eskimo stay in the north, he asks ? A migration south to a less harsh climate, to a place where work may be found, will inevitably bring about their disappearance as a separate people, as it has to sections of the Indian populations. "Surely it is preferable that they should succumb struggling for a better life in Southern Canada than rotting away in the Arctic on government dole."[19]

At present, the economic and social condition of the Eskimo resembles that of the Indian and Metis. They are unskilled, ill-educated and likely to suffer whenever industry heads for a slump.

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[18] Jenness, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-179.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Should colonization occur, community development is seen as one method of speeding up the educational methods and retraining necessary, if they are to become part of the Canadian people. The national training plan outlined by Jenness for Eskimo youths deserves careful attention.[20]

The Department of National Health and Welfare

This department does not have any community development program *per se*, but it is involved in a number of projects to which it contributes funds and technical services under the National Welfare Grants Program. One such project, to which some space will be devoted later, is the white-Negro semi-rural community development project in Windsor, Nova Scotia. Another project which benefits from a small federal grant is the multi-problem family project in Vancouver. This is known as the Area Development Project and is under the auspices of the Community Chest and Councils of Greater Vancouver. The neighbourhood services department of this project has an urban community development flavour.

Dyson has written that "further entry into the realm of community development is currently under consideration, although what more will be done will not be known for some months yet."[21]

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-183.

[21] Letter from Dyson, 28 January, 1965.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

Three provincial governments have established community development programs, and a fourth is now preparing to do so. The oldest of these programs is in Manitoba, where the Community Development Services of the Department of Public Welfare have been in operation since 1959. Quebec has a program sponsored by ARDA, and a special development agency has been established for the Gaspé region which was the initial region selected for development by this province. The third province is Alberta, where a Community Development Branch has been initiated in the Department of Industry and Development. The province now establishing a program is Nova Scotia, the government of which has recently set up a Social Development Division in the Department of Public Welfare.

Manitoba

There are approximately 25,000 Indians and 25,000 Metis in Manitoba. This province has a higher concentration of people of Indian ancestry than any other province of Canada. Indians, who have not been assimilated into the main stream of Canadian culture, maintain their traditional rights, but the Metis have no special protection under treaty arrangements and live in about two hundred and fifty communities governed by the same laws as all other white people. It has been estimated that about three thousand Metis live on the fringes of the Indian Reservations, about three thousand on the fringes of white communities, some seven thousand in Metis settlements and eleven thousand in predominately white ones. Generally speaking, they live under poor circumstances, similar to those of the Indians.[1]

The problems encountered by Manitoba's Indians and Metis differ in no way from those faced by Indians elsewhere in Canada. To combat them, the community development approach was recommended as a means "to give the sub-cultures the opportunity to be exposed to the kind of life experiences which could help to develop the norms and values most suitable to any new environment."[2] This recommendation was the culmination of a three year study requested by the provincial legislature in 1956 to examine the condition under which the "native" people lived. The Department of Agriculture and Conservation undertook the study which was tabled at the 1959 spring session of Parliament. The result was the formation of the Community Development Services to be included in the Department of Health and Public Welfare. Its director, Jean Lagassé, who had also directed the study, was instructed to implement the main recommendations of his report. These were (1) the adoption of the Fair Accommodation Practices Act, (2) the appointment of an Interministerial Committee on Indian and Metis Affairs, (3) the granting of equal rights to Indians on matters pertaining to alcohol consumption, (4) the creation of Community Development Services.

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[1] J. H. Lagassé, *Community Development in Manitoba,* Reprint from Human Organization, Vol. 20, No. 4, Winter 1961-1962, p. 233.

With respect to the second point, it was deemed essential to develop sound policies by creating a coordinating committee at the policy-making level. Accordingly, the Departments of Labour, Industry and Commerce, Agriculture and Conservation, and Mines and Natural Resources were to form an interministerial committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Health and Public Welfare. This committee was to consider any question related to Indian and Metis problems which would require new government policies or inter-departmental co-operation.

In planning the Community Development Services, many programs amongst the Navaho, Omaha, Fox and Cherokee Indians were examined, along with overseas undertakings, to see how they could be adapted to the conditions under which the Indians and Metis lived in Manitoba. Lagassé has pointed out, however, that a model program from one place cannot be transplanted wholesale to another, particularly not from an underdeveloped to an industrial country.[3] In places like India, for example, the entire government structure revolves around an integrated plan of community development because of the necessity of reaching the majority of its people, while here, where minority groups only need to be affected, the government acts in a much more restricted manner. Where it is the attempt of the government to reach all their people, it is logical to use village-level workers of the same ethnic origin as the villagers. Here, however, the power positions are invariably held by white people. These persons could be unwilling to relinquish their power should an Indian or Metis community development officer be appointed to establish a project requiring control over amenities necessary for effective community development. Also Indian, Metis or Eskimos are so accustomed to deferring to the white man, that they might not react favourably to one of their own.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Lagassé saw that the Manitoba program should be focussed on two fundamental problems. "The main emphasis of community development in Manitoba is economic development and social organization because it is in these two areas that former government services have been most delinquent."[4] Other areas such as health, welfare, education and religion have been tolerably well catered for, but it is doubtful whether further improvements can be expected in these areas without attention to the economic and social. Accordingly, three community development officers were appointed during 1960 to work in Norway House, Grand Rapids and the Camperville areas. An economic liaison officer was installed in Winnipeg. By the following year, operations had expanded to include Berens River and The Pas. Meanwhile, the liaison officer was active in several small settlements in the southern part of the province.

It is interesting to observe the types of project initiated in those areas served by community development officers.[5] In Grand Rapids, for example, by the end of 1961, it is reported that ten wells had been dug, an eleven-classroom school erected and twenty-three homes had been improved or built by government home improvement loans. In this area, full employment due to the construction of a hydro-electric plant had clearly been beneficial. Norway House, however, had no such economic potential. Welfare assistance was the main source of income for half the population. A community development officer could not be expected to improve the position overnight, so the creation of strong community organizations was his first task.

In the Camperville region, the officer's first task was a six months survey to collect enough statistical data to enable the government to obtain a clear picture of the area. So impatient were the people to get started with community development, that the very presence of a community development person in Camperville apparently spurred them into organizing themselves into a community organization to identify areas for improvement. Of the twenty-five identified, ten were concerned with what they could do themselves, and another fifteen which would require government co-operation and support.

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[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Annual Report of Community Development Services*, Department of Welfare, Manitoba, 1961, pp. 4-10.

At Berens River in 1960, a decline in the fish population and a change in fishing regulations required swift and effective action by the community development services. A study was initiated to find alternative sources of income, and in 1961 a pulpwood co-operative was set up with seventy-two shareholders. Money was borrowed to buy equipment to cut stumps which would then be transported by barge to Pine Falls. This was so successful that 1961 was the first time for years that no unemployment relief had to be paid.

The Community Development services have been concerned with the town of The Pas since 1960, when the municipal council commissioned a citizens committee to study problems relating to the Indian and Metis. By 1961, a conference was held to discuss the problems and plans for the building of a Friendship Centre to provide counselling and referral services to the Indian and Metis populations. The Conference Planning Committee, having gained approval for their plan, set about interesting more individuals, groups and the government. By December, the government held public hearings to study the situation. Concerns were expressed around seven topics : housing, employment, education, job-training, a Friendship Centre, transient facilities and gaol services.

The positive concern which a white community has about its fringe element of people of Indian ancestry is illustrated by what the village of MacGregor and the rural municipality of North Norfolk did during the 1950's. They met with the Indian Affairs Branch and planned co-operatively a six point attack on problems caused by different standards of living, different standards of law enforcement, different standards of community services, slum mentality and racial differentiation. The plan was to include all levels of government in (1) provision of adequate food, (2) clothing, (3) shelter, (4) education, (5) social relationship and employment, (6) raising welfare payments to provincial standards.

Building materials were made available to provide adequate housing, special classes organized for those who had never been to school and other adult education courses were instituted for all. A housing project was started with the municipality donating the land to the Community Development Services. Indian Affairs and the Division of Welfare services paid the cost of the building materials and wages of a supervising carpenter. Those for whom the houses were built had to contribute one hundred and fifty man hours free, but further work was paid for at $1.25 per hour. In addition, the householder had to pay the Community Development Services ten percent of an estimated income for five years after which they would be given full ownership and the half acre lot on which the house stood. By 1961, thirteen houses had been built and four more were planned for the following year.

> There are many indications that this program is producing the desired results ... There are still many problems to be solved but the way of life of these people will never return to the low ebb they knew before...[6]

While the Community Development Services were becoming a potent force in Manitoba, a project amongst the Churchill Indian Band was undertaken by the Indian Affairs Branch.[7] From December 1959 to March 1960, Walter Hlady was invited to study how the two hundred and seventy Chipewyan Indians, living on the outskirts of Churchill could be helped through community development. The movements of this nomadic tribe had for two centuries hinged on the trading post at Churchill, but recently a change had occurred and the Band had become a dependent group living in sub-standard shacks on the fringe of the white community. A sedentary way of life having become established, the Indians had difficulty in adjusting to work for wages. They spoke little English, were not accustomed to being employed and possessed few skills. Consequently, most were in receipt of welfare and a few drew unemployment benefits. The primary purpose of the project was to see what could be effected amongst a primitive group in a short period of six months, and the secondary purpose was to determine what the elements for community developments would likely be for a longer period.

In the short time available, it would appear from those programs instituted, that the community development approach was a successful way of helping the Chipewyans to become self-reliant, and in the long run, to achieve a reasonable standard of living. One of the major achievements was to "sell" the Indians to the whites by means of talks, newspaper articles and personal contacts. Another important point was the use of the school teacher as a resource person for language classes or running film shows. He was found to be well-placed because, in Indian thinking, he was not connected with the government and thus his activities would not be related to the Indian Affairs Branch. Generally speaking, the teacher is also divorced from the church influence and, as an educator, he is more likely to use educational aides more effectively than the layman.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[7] W. M. Hlady, *A Community Development Project Amongst the Churchill Band at Churchill, Manitoba*, Saskatoon, 1960.

With the coming of the Community Development Services, new projects were devised only after consultation with the regional supervisor of Indian Affairs because the Services' finances were arranged so that the Indian Affairs Branch should share half the cost. It was also necessary to maintain close liaison with this agency, as well as with others, in order to coordinate support services and avoid duplication. An example of coordination is seen in the manner in which, every year, the Department of Mines has conducted courses in prospecting. These have been in various locations and have lasted a week. They are designed to enable the native people to identify the main ores, register, stake and sell claims. For the women, the Indian Homemakers' Clubs, which were founded in 1937, have helped raise the status of native women. These organizations, which are similar to Women's Institutes, seek to help the aged and less fortunate, discover and train leaders, and sponsor and assist all worthwhile community projects.

In addition to these ancillary activities, adult education has continued alongside community development. A wide variety of courses in Winnipeg, Churchill, Fairford Reserve, Roseau River Reserve, Norway House and Hodgson, to mention a few locations, have aroused interest, enthusiasm, and generally requests for continuation. Most of these courses have been sponsored by the Community Welfare Planning Council of Winnipeg.

In 1963, many programs had been initiated by the Community Development Services in strategically located centres throughout the province. Officers could be found in Churchill, Berens River, Camperville, Cedar Lake, Grand Rapids, Norway House, The Pas and Thompson. According to the Annual Report for 1963, nine co-operatives and one credit union were in operation and the housing projects had been expanded. Expenditure on the total service was four times larger than in the first year of service.

By 1964, a vocational guidance officer had been added to the staff at headquarters in Winnipeg. He was required to work with a restricted number of Indians and Metis to help them move into permanent employment.[8] Also under the new federal Indian Affairs plan, three community development officers were reported to have been assigned to Manitoba.

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[8] Community Development Services, Department of Welfare, *Community Development Services Vocational Guidance and Job Placement Program*, Winnipeg, June, 1964, p. 2.

To assist in evaluating the efficacy of the Manitoba program, the report recently prepared by Professor Dallyn is valuable.[9] He is of the opinion that the service has proven itself, but that it is far too small. Only fourteen percent of the Metis who live in communities, and about the same percentage of Indian living in Reserves, are served by community development officers. In other words, only eight thousand out of fifty-six thousand are affected. The ultimate goal must, therefore, be to vastly extend the service, if all are to benefit.

What is required is to utilize established techniques in a new approach to the overall problem. This will require the community development officer to work in several communities instead of being absorbed in one. Officers, therefore, "would have to standardize their procedures to some extent and give up the extreme individualism they now enjoy as they go about their tasks."[10]

Standardizing procedures requires a "process focus" rather than an individualistic "project focus." There are four areas in which the community development officer can be of assistance here: (1) to determine felt need and to stimulate motivation, (2) to develop new leaders, (3) to develop new community organizations, (4) to increase use of government services.[11] Dallyn believes that in order to reach all communities and all people in those communities, the first task is to initiate some experience in social organization before going on to (2), (3) and (4). This would mean that the province would have to be organized into suitable units and that a service sequence be established whereby a community development officer would stay in one area for six months to do what he could before leaving for the next location. His successor would have to pick up the threads. If the same sequence were followed overall, it would be a feasible plan.

> The proposal made here goes contrary to the established assumption that it takes a community development officer a considerable period of time to gain the confidence of people and that this is necessary before he can be of any real assistance to them.[12]

Dallyn feels that there are too many arbitrary ways of dealing with problems found in all communities and that they are hindering effective and widespread development. If real progress is to be made, some routine way of handling recurrent problems must be found. Specialists should leave leaders on their own until they need specialized help.

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[9] J. G. Dallyn, *Community Development Service Evaluation*, Community Development Services, Department of Welfare, Winnipeg, 1964.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Quebec

To test whether a program of economic and social development can be applied to other disadvantaged regions of Quebec, a pilot project in the eastern part of the province was started in 1963. The area selected for the initial experiment is in the Lower St. Lawrence and Gaspé regions and covers an area of fifteen thousand square miles. Traditionally, agriculture has provided the main source of income, together with fishing and forestry. Today, large tracts of land have gone to waste, forests have been destroyed by exploitation, and the supply of fish has been depleted. Although an increasing tourist trade is bringing new wealth, the region is extremely poor. The population of 325,000 lives in two hundred and twenty small villages and earns an annual mean income of between $600.00 to $1,000.00. According to the season, the rate of unemployment varies from forty to eighty percent. It is, in brief, "l'endroit rêvé pour faire quelque chose avec presque rien." [13]

The French Canadian is not generally thought to be in the same social or economic bracket as the Indian or Eskimo. It can be observed from the few facts given, however, that his situation is not dissimilar. One Regional Liaison Officer from Sudbury, Ontario, puts it well. "I have the impression that in this region, French Canadians feel as 'native' as Indians." [14] In the Gaspé region, then, the predominantly French Canadian population is the first to benefit from the development program, although those Indian Bands who live there also derive benefit. Otherwise, there are no special arrangements for the latter. A letter from the Indian Affairs Branch states that "les programmes mis de l'avant par la Direction des Affaires Indiennes sont les mêmes pour tout le Canada." [15]

The project for the east of Quebec is under the sponsorship of ARDA. ARDA was introduced into Quebec legislation in June, 1963, and its relationship to the Bureau de l'Aménagement de l'Est de Québec (BAEQ), which administers the project, is complicated. Since May, 1956, an organization, called Conseil d'Orientation Economique du Bas Saint-Laurent (COEB), has tried to find a basis for economic development in that area. A similar organization was established in 1963, called Conseil Régional d'Expansion Economique de la Gaspésie et des Iles-de-la-Madeleine (CREEGIM). These two councils were invited subsequently to participate in the formation of a private society to prepare the plan of development for the areas of Témiscouata, Rivière-du-Loup, Rimouski, Matane, Matapédia, Gaspé-Nord, Gaspé-Sud, Bonaventure and the Iles-de-la-Madeleine.

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[13] A. Lauzon, "Bas Saint-Laurent et Gaspésie : Un Nouvel Espoir," *Le Magazine Maclean*, December, 1964, p. 23.

[14] Letter from S. Zybala, 8 February, 1965.

[15] Letter from R. L. Boulanger, 5 February, 1965, file 87/29-6(BD).

The private society became known as BAEQ and was staffed by ten regional directors, a consultant, two representatives from the provincial government and the presidents of COEB and CREEGIM. The provincial ministry of Agriculture and Colonization is connected with its administration, and active in the technical domain is the Comité ~~Permanent~~ d'Aménagement des Ressources (CPAR), which represents six functional ministries : fisheries, agriculture, forests, natural resources, industry and commerce, and municipal affairs. BAEQ is also linked with the Sous-Comité d'Aménagement Territorial (SCAT) and indirectly with the provincial Conseil d'Orientation Économique (COE).

As in other parts of Canada, the federal government shares equally the cost with the province. In short, BAEQ is an administrative organization, receiving federal and provincial funds, and relying on six ministries for technical advice and two councils for economic direction.

The staff of BAEQ consists of researchers, economists, sociologists and social development officers. As these people have their headquarters at Mont Joli, the bureau has been aptly nicknamed l'Université de Mont Joli. There are seventy permanent staff and eighty students during the vacations. In 1964 there were nine development officers, known as *animateurs sociaux,* and the number is to be increased to fifteen this year.

Their first task was to form local communities. There now exist one hundred and forty. The members of such committees were encouraged to interest themselves in community affairs. They were asked to draw up inventories of resources and to suggest plans for improvement, because it was seen as essential that local people should appreciate their own economic and social condition. For the first time, the lot of the inhabitants depended not on the good will of the député, or of the priest, or of fate, but on themselves. Sometimes, there has been resistance to change, and Lauzon has noted some friction between priests and development personnel.[16] Each has considered the other's work as unrealistic. The *animateur* has seen the *curé* as maintaining an outmoded *status quo,* and the *curé* has regarded the other as forcing change when nothing was possible or desirable.

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[16] Lauzon, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Planning has not been left entirely to local committees. Specialist assistance has been at hand, and one positive aspect of the BAEQ has been that it has allowed researchers from universities to put their theory into practice. This has been the first time in Quebec that a serious inventory of natural and human resources has been made. The inventory will serve as a basis for expanded action programs.

The stake of the university in the life of Quebec is considerable. Dyson writes that Professor Gerald Fortin of the Social Science Faculty, Université Laval, is a high-level regular consultant to the BAEQ project.[17] In addition, the name of Fortin is often mentioned, together with that of Tremblay, in connection with research work elsewhere. Together they have carried out a study into the level of living for families in the province of Quebec.[18] This three-year project, which started in 1960, has examined the structure of the budget, the modes of spending, and the felt needs of a sample population living in urban and rural, non-agricultural areas. This sample was considered to represent between seventy and eighty percent of all French Canadian families in the province. The study has shown that there exist many family needs in French-Canada which at present are largely unmet.

> Nous avons vu aussi que pour la population étudiée, tous les besoins, sauf la nourriture et les soins médicaux, étaient extensibles indéfiniment. Le revenu dont disposent les travailleurs salariés ne leur permet de satisfaire pleinement aucun de leurs besoins. En conséqunce, même les familles à haut revenu se sentent privées ... Les plus pauvres comme les plus fortunés sont constamment en état d'aspiration puisque à mesure qu'ils acquièrent un bien nouveau, la technologie et la publicité se chargent de créer de nouveaux besoins. Comme on ne réussit jamais à acquérir tous les biens existants, on ressert constamment des privations.[19]

Whatever the methods used to analyse the structure of needs, the results concur.

> Même si une certaine indétermination est inévitable, on peut classifier les besoins selon leur importance pour la population de la manière suivante.

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[17] Letter from W. A. Dyson, 22 March, 1965.

[18] M.-A. Tremblay, G. Fortin, "Enquête sur les Conditions de Vie de la Famille Canadienne-Française : l'Univers des Besoins," *Recherches Sociographiques,* Vol. IV, No. 1, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1963.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 45.

1. Mobilier
2. Automobile
3. Assurances
4. Logement
5. Soins médicaux
6. Nourriture
7. Loisirs
8. Vêtements[20]

While this study does not have application to an action project, it, like so many other studies, lays the basis and provides much needed research information on communities and their structures. In this respect, it is interesting to note that a group, Le Groupe Anthropologique et Sociologique pour l'Etude des Communautés (GASPEC) was formed in 1962 to study social and cultural characteristics in French-Canadian society. Rather than conducting individual studies in isolation, an attempt has been made to see the community as a whole. The first region for study was at Saint Hilaire, fifty-five miles from Montreal in the Richelieu Valley.

Other projects of a community development nature are in process. In summary form, these are :

1. Urban and Social Redevelopment Project, Montreal. This is a five year action research project concerned with a section of the inner city of Montreal, and commenced June 1, 1964, with Dr. John Frei, as Director.
2. Conseil des Œuvres, Montreal, has been involved with some urban community development within the city.
3. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, at Ottawa, has been involved with a program with Indians on the Caughnawaga Reserve.[21]

Alberta

There are calculated to be about 22,000 treaty Indians living in Alberta, mostly on reserves. The precise number of Metis is unknown. The problems encountered by these people, differing in no way from those affecting Indians and Metis in other parts of Canada, have led to the establishment of a Community Development Branch in the Department of Industry and Development, on July 1, 1964.

The Alberta program, like that of Manitoba, is oriented towards providing intensive community service through community development officers whose areas of operation are basically restricted to the area in which they live. Their duties are governed by three objectives: (1) To help the communities organize themselves so that normal services available to all citizens are available to the Indians and Metis, (2) to assist in the improvement of the social and economic situation, (3) to help create a social climate in the wider society which will permit Indians and Metis to assume an equal place with other Albertan people.

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Letter from S. Goldbloom, 17 March, 1965.

The community development program was organized as a joint venture between the federal and provincial governments to be administered by the latter. In the initial stages, for policy and programming at the provincial level, it has come directly under the jurisdiction of a cabinet committee of four members, comprised of the Minister of Public Welfare, the Minister Without Portfolio and Chairman of the Northern Development Council, the Minister of Industry and Development and the Minister of Public Works, who is chairman. In practice, the Deputy Minister of Industry and Development sits in on this cabinet committee as well. At the federal level, this program, as well as others relating to all native peoples in Alberta, is managed and coordinated by a Federal-Provincial Co-ordinating Committee composed of four representatives of the Indian Affairs Branch and four from the province.

In financial affairs, the federal government is prepared to assist financially in Alberta's community development projects in the following manner. In mixed communities, they assist to an extent commensurate with the proportion of Indians in the project area, but on Reserves it is more complicated.

> The complication arises because Indian Affairs is now inaugurating a community development program for all of Canada and as yet we are not sure how the Indians themselves will view the two programs. We fear they may see the programs as competing systems but hope this pitfall may be avoided through Federal-Provincial co-operation.[22]

A federal-provincial meeting was held in October, 1964, to help settle certain administrative and financial arrangements but the outcome of the conference is not known.

Under the federal, integrated plan, the Indian Affairs Branch has already put to work one community development officer in Alberta. He was placed in Hay Lakes, west of Fort Vermilion, on June 1, 1964.

> This officer has been meeting with the Indian people to help them identify their needs and problems. He has also been engaged in elementary adult education and community organization. Two associations have been

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[22] Community Development Branch, Department of Industry and Development, Community Development in Alberta: *Statement of Activities to Date*, Edmonton, February, 1965, p. 3.

formed there, a Workmen's Association to provide employment, and a Livestock Marketing Association to explore ways of promoting this industry.[23]

Under the provincial plan, there is now one provincial coordinator of community development, James R. Whitford, and three officers in the field at Fort Chipewyan, Fort McMurray and Slave Lake. These areas, together with another in Southern Alberta, have been selected after an extensive survey by Mr. Whitford in early 1964. The areas decided upon were chosen on the degree of interest indicated by local people, because the Community Development Branch does not wish to enter an area against their will. There was also an attempt to choose communities sufficiently different from one another in order that the experiences at those sites might increase the knowledge of the social processes which take place, so that more effective planning could be effected in future.

To recruit personnel for the community development program in Alberta is proving no easier than elsewhere in Canada. To find those who possess sensitivity, maturity, training, intelligence, skill and discipline, men from the Social Science faculties of the universities are being sought. "Needless to say, these are a rare breed in Canada and they command a high price on the open market."[24] Whitford writes more specifically, "I prefer people with an anthropological or sociological background and am prepared to look 'a mari usque ad mare'."[25]

The community development officer is expected "to establish a positive relationship with all people in the area and to seek out and encourage potential native leaders."[26] It will be observed that these are the first two steps suggested by Dallyn as those to be pursued by Manitoba's officers. Whitford writes. "I do not wish to suggest that 'communication' and 'leadership' are the only problems we will be faced with but they are the crucial problems, which, if not solved, will render our other work valueless."[27] He, in another place, alludes to problems which personnel encounter most frequently in the field.[28] These are inability to meet the native on the native's own terms and inability to retain the co-operation of some of the white population in the native community.

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[23] Letter from R. D. Ragan, 3 February, 1965, file 205/1-2.

[24] Community Development Branch, Department of Industry and Development, *Preliminary Statement of a Community Development Program for the Province of Alberta*, Edmonton, April, 1964, p. 5.

[25] Letter from J. R. Whitford, 28 January, 1965.

[26] Community Development Branch, *Statement of Activities*, p. 2.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Letter from Whitford, 28 January, 1965.

Community development has been carried out in the broadcast sense for many years through such media as Leadership Training Courses in a variety of communities. These have been arranged between the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta, and the Citizenship and Indian Affairs Branches of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Through the efforts of such bodies, Band councils have become increasingly responsible for their own administration. Since August, 1964, fifteen Bands have administered their own revenue monies under Section 68 of the Indian Act, and several have hired secretaries to conduct their business. Also the increased establishment of school committees has involved many Indians in school affairs.

Most of the activities of the Extension Department of the University have been confined to assisting other agencies or groups to prepare workshops, training courses and community surveys. "This role is a specialized one and one which perhaps we can fill most effectively, using the resources of the University, especially in such faculties as Sociology, Economics, Agriculture."[29]

Through the services of the liaison officer of the Citizenship Branch, many leadership courses have been undertaken since about 1957, and it would appear that they have been successful. It is interesting to note that in 1963, the group of students taking the course at St. Paul, Alberta, were found to be at a more advanced stage than the course had anticipated or prepared for. Such a course might be described as serving about twenty students from neighbouring Bands. The course, such as the one given in 1961, at Saddle Lake Agency, would last a week and would include group discussions about the community and instruction on how to survey such an entity. Considerable time would be spent in discussing how to convert the needs into action. Other subjects dealt with would include legal services and how a person in trouble could make use of them, speech making and rules of procedure for meetings. Some time would be devoted to putting the theory into practice by making the students responsible for a project, such as organizing a banquet. For such an undertaking, they would be given a free hand and would be expected to hire the hall, invite the guests, introduce people, draw-up the menu, make speeches, and provide the entertainment.[30]

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[29] Letter from G. A. Eyford, 17 February, 1965.

[30] Leadership Training Course — Saddle Lake Indian Agency, Unpublished Report from Senior Liaison Officer Western Canada to Chief Liaison Officer, December 7, 1961.

In 1962 a seminar was held at the University of Alberta to discuss "The Challenge of Assisting the Canadian Aboriginal People to Adjust to Urban Environments." The material from this conference is somewhat outside the scope of this study, but one of its recommendations has significance for community development. The participants felt that to enable the rural person to fit more readily into the urban pattern of living, community development could play a major role. It was recommended that "an important and strategic area to pursue next would be that of a genuine community development program of the type that would reach and meet the need of rural areas and small towns with prominent Indian populations as well as Indian Reserves."[81]

Now that community development has become a reality, what is the outlook ? Whitford writes :

> In considering a two-year experimental program, we must be prepared to expect that people in areas not served by our first projects will attempt to have the government extend their program. I would suggest that the government keep an open mind to this possibility and be prepared to consider its merits at the end of the first-year's operation.[82]

As this time approaches, Alberta is widely advertising community development positions at extremely attractive salaries and, therefore, the inference is that Alberta intends its service to expand in order to meet the requirements of a growing problem.

Nova Scotia

The Division of Social Development in the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare was established in November, 1964. In February, 1965, it obtained its first full-time director, George H. Matthews. He will take up his duties at the beginning of May.

Although the term social rather than community development has been used, the fields are synonymous, except that the work of the Division will be in semi-urban, rather than in rural areas, and will take place amongst a predominantly Negro population.

Nova Scotia has approximately twelve thousand Negroes, or about fifty percent of the Negro population of Canada. Generally speaking, these people are socially, economically and educationally deprived. The first task of the Division will be an attempt to stimulate a self-help program that will have some effect. At the moment, there is a research program under way in three disadvantaged Negro communities which are situated closely together. "The preliminary report of this project indicates that we should place a social development officer in these comunities to help with employment, trades and vocational training and housing problems that presently exist in these communities."[33]

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[81] G. K. Hirabayashi, A. J. Cormier, V. S. Billow (Eds.), *The Challenge of Assisting the Canadian Aboriginal People to Adjust to Urban Environments*, Seminar Report, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1962, p. 42.

[82] Community Development Branch, *Preliminary Statement*, p. 7.

It is proposed that an additional Social Development officer will be appointed to assist, in a similar manner, a community near the Halifax metropolitan area. To help finance these programs, use will be made of federal welfare grants and assistance through ARDA.

It is felt that no one approach will solve all the problems, but it is hoped that research in certain areas followed by action programs will show how future problems may be tackled most effectively. Matthews adds that "in all our work we will attempt to coordinate the agencies presently working in these areas, e.g. adult education, extension departments of universities, churches and other departments of government . . ."[34]

So far one officer has been appointed from amongst the existing departmental staff. It is believed that other staff are being recruited and that the next year will see the development of a training course, based upon the special needs of the Nova Scotia program.

One special project, undertaken in a mixed-white community by the Family and Children's Services of Hants County deserves detailed description. Its emphasis is on community development in the strict sense and indicates the way in which urban work may be done in the future. This project will continue for three years after which time a survey will measure what change, if any, has taken place.

The following is part of a letter to the writer from Harold D. Crowell, the Executive Director, of the Family and Children's Services.[35]

> Our Community Development Project has only been underway for the last three months. However, the community that we have chosen is well known to us as we have been doing extensive social work in that area for the past ten years. The area chosen is known as Three Mile Plains and Five Mile Plains. It has, traditionally, been an area of low income, with many of the early settlers being coloured people, who had been former slaves in the American States. Many had escaped and came to Windsor on ships that were engaged in transporting goods between Windsor

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[33] Letter from G. H. Matthews, 17 February, 1965.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Letter from H. D. Crowell, 26 February, 1965.

and the eastern American seaboard. Because of the limited resources of the people they tended to erect very inadequate housing, and the land that they settled on was cheaper and less fertile than that in the surrounding areas. Through the years white people, who were not very successful financially, have tended to drift into the area because of the low-housing and low-land costs. This tradition of poverty has been handed on through successive generations for the last one hundred years.

The area was chosen as a project area because it had always required a much higher proportion of municipal social assistance than the population in the surrounding area, and a great deal of the time of the Social Workers in this agency was spent in working with people in the area. In 1960 we applied to Welfare Grants Division, Department of Health and Welfare, Ottawa, for a grant to do a demonstration project in the area because the communities chosen are similar to many on the fringes of towns throughout Nova Scotia and many parts of Canada. Our request was granted in 1964, and on December 1st a house to house survey was conducted to establish indices which would measure the social economic level of the people in the area at the present time. This survey was carried out by the Acadia Institute and included such things as housing, health, economics, crime, recreation, and levels of employment. This survey has now been completed, and from this we have determined that there are 180 families in the project area, 40 of which are coloured. As an indication of the level of housing we found that 27 families were living in housing within 400 square feet of floor space. Actually housing and employment stood out as the two main problems that should be dealt with as soon as possible. On January 1st we put a fully trained Social Worker into the area as a Community Development Worker. It is the function of this Worker to act as a catalyst and a resource person for the area. To date, meetings have been held with many of the residents of the area, and a Community Betterment Association is to be formed. This will have sub-committees on housing, employment, recreation, health, welfare and education. The people in the community have shown a great enthusiasm to try to benefit their lot, and a desire to work together. A lack of unity has been one of the main problems in the area up to the present time.

A further resource committee has been established in the larger white community which has drawn in people from agriculture, education, health, welfare, and lay-people who, because of their position, may have many ideas to contribute that would be helpful in our work in this project. One of the most satisfying things to date is the fact that at a public meeting, both coloured and white, agreed that there should not be two separate groups formed, but that the coloured and white people must work together if the community is to advance, and they all wanted to belong to the same organization.

One of the most difficult problems we feel that we are going to have to come to grips with, is housing as there does not appear to be adequate legislation at the present time to enable people on very low incomes to build a home of their own. It has been traditional for these people to be home-owners, regardless of the fact, that very often this only meant a very inadequate shack. This however, relieves some of the anxiety

> since many only work five to eight months out of the year, and would otherwise face eviction when they are unemployed. ...
>
> There are a number of resources that we intend to draw upon, for example, the Federal Agricultural Experimental Station which is located in a near-by County has indicated that they might be willing to set up a sub-station in this area which would train people in the growing of small fruits, such as strawberries, or raspberries, on a fairly extensive basis. This is not being done in the area at the present time, and very little use is being made of the land available.
>
> As I have perhaps indicated, there are many regions in the Maritimes where projects, such as we are carrying out, could be used. It is perhaps a little early yet to forecast what the implications of the results of our project might be, but certainly if it is successful to any extent, there is going to be a tremendous push in the area of community development with most social agencies. From a social point of view I would hope that we might be able to help the people in the area obtain more adequate housing to achieve a better image of themselves in their community, and through the process of self-help in working together, achieve a much closer relationship with other members of the community.
>
> You may also be interested in knowing that within the next few days we will be negotiating with the Department of Indian Affairs with a view of taking on complete services of the Mic Mac Reserve, at Shubenacadie, which would include child welfare, administration of social assistance in the community development program. I am not sure whether these negotiations will be successful, but certainly it seems to me, the most logical way of attacking the rather severe problems that exist on the Reserve.

The Indian Affairs Branch is also active in Nova Scotia in the field of community development, but as the Branch operates on a regional basis, their involvement will be described in the section on the Maritime Provinces.

This chapter has dealt with the programs of the four provinces whose governments have undertaken community development. All these programs have possessed the four basic elements stipulated as essential in the general variety of community development.[36] They have contained, in other words, (1) planning for the needs of the total community, (2) self-help as the basis for action, (3) technical assistance when required, (4) integration of specialist services. To initiate the programs, those with specialist training and usually possessing university degrees in social science, have been retained.

The programs of Manitoba and Alberta have been planned to reach those of Indian ancestry, while Nova Scotia's recently planned program will affect Indian, Negro and white persons. The program of Quebec has been of a slightly different type as it reaches a predominantly white French Canadian population. The information concerning this program is unfortunately incomplete, but it would appear that it has been established to meet an unique problem in a way typical of Quebec. The intricacies of the administration have been described whereby a private organization has been financed by the provincial and the federal governments to undertake an extensive research program. This may be later applied on a larger scale throughout the province.

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[36] See page 9.

CHAPTER VI

PROVINCES WITHOUT ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The following sections have dealt with those provinces or regions where no comprehensive programs of community development have been introduced. All these provinces or regions have in operation, however, a number of projects or limited programs in a variety of government departments and educational institutions. These have been described under the provinces or regions which have been listed alphabetically.

British Columbia

Indians in British Columbia and the Yukon Territory come under the overall direction of the Indian Commissioner in the Regional Office at Vancouver and, therefore, any program established for the one area would have application in the other. However, there is no comprehensive community development program in the region except the Indian Leadership Education program, directed by two staff members of the Extension Department of the University of British Columbia and financed by the Indian Affairs Branch. In addition to the full-time personnel, part-time use is made of others with special qualifications in leadership and adult education.

Indian Leadership Education Program. This program has been in operation for two years and was requested initially by the Indian Affairs Branch and the North American Brotherhood. The objectives are to develop the ability of the Indians to handle their own affairs and to help them understand the problems which confront them in the modern world. The content of the programs is concerned with specific problem areas, such as education, housing, employment, economic development and recreation. The method by which this is carried out is by using adult education techniques in workshops and in discussion groups amongst Indian Band Councils and Band members. Training sessions are also conducted for staff members of the Indian Affairs Branch.

Workshops and sessions last about three days and are conducted in different centres around the Province. This enables a large number of people to benefit from the workshops by reducing the distances they have to travel to attend such courses.

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The territory is so large that it is impractical to cover it all. Not only are many of the Bands extremely small, but in many cases, they are in remote areas and not easy to visit. The hope is that, eventually, the eighteen agency superintendents will learn enough to be able to train the Band Councils and carry out a type of community development themselves.

The Program for 1965-1966 will be on the same basis as in 1964. Activities will be conducted at various levels and with various kinds of groups.[1]

1. *On Reserves*

Participants might be Band members and councillors from one Reserve, although members of neighbouring Bands, having similar interests and problems, might be included.

Indian Agency staff might well be included, especially if some new development in the Reserve is to be discussed. Because only a few workshops of this sort can be handled due to shortage of time, money and personnel, selection is done with an eye to places where new industrial or commercial undertakings are planned.

2. *Area Workshops*

These are designed for chiefs and councillors and are residential courses, lasting from two to four days. Their emphasis is on the management of Band affairs. Staff from the agencies concerned are supplemented by resource personnel.

For those leaders, who have attended some of the beginners' workshops, more advanced programs are envisaged, if time and finances permit. "They would be given special training in group work so that they could not only be more effective in their home situation but could also serve as discussion leaders or staff when a workshop is held in their area. They might become good recruits for band managers or community development assistants."[2]

For this year, two or three residential workshops are planned.

3. *I.A.B. Staff Workshops*

Two or three workshops with agency staff are planned on an area basis. The aim of these will be to help staff increase their understanding of educational principles and techniques in order to improve their skills in working with councils.

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[1] University of British Columbia, Extension Department, Submission for Programs for British Columbia Indian Education Program 1965-1966, to Indian Affairs Branch, 1965.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4. *Invitational Workshops on Indian Affairs*

In the future, it is proposed to bring together, at least once a year, a number of Indians who are outstanding in their knowledge of Indian attitudes and problems. They will discuss with qualified resource persons some of the major issues in Indian Affairs. "One example may be the transfer to the Province of increasing responsibility in the administration of Indian Affairs." [8]

Such a workshop could provide a nucleus for larger conferences like the one sponsored by the Indian-Eskimo Association for 1965 in Ontario.

Areas of Concern

In order to achieve continuity in contacts with some of the agencies and Branches already served, the following areas will be served in 1965 : (1) Northwest Area — Queen Charlotte Islands, Skeena River, Terrace, Babine and Bella Coola agencies; (2) Vancouver Island — The West Coast, Cowichan and Kwawkewlth agencies; (3) Lower Mainland of Fraser River Valley — Fraser Agency; (4) The Interior — Kamloops, Lytton, Okanagan and Merritt agencies.

There is evidence to suggest that the adult Community Programmes Branch of the Port Simpson Project, British Columbia Provincial Department of Education is becoming actively engaged in community development work. Early in 1965, a project was initiated, under their leadership, in Port Simpson, on the Skeena River near Prince Rupert. This project was started as a result of a request from the nine hundred or so residents of the area who wanted to know how they might best make use of money from sales of timber on the Reserve. After some deliberation they decided to put a fair amount into education, some into vocational training and some into a community development project.

As this project is scarcely underway and as no information has been received from its staff, it is not known how it is progressing. It is clear, however, that there are formidable obstacles in the path of development. Traditionally, Port Simpson has been a fishing community but recently the fish population has declined while the number of fishermen has increased. Chronic unemployment has been the result. Lacking initiative, lacking leadership, lacking motivation and overloaded with debts, the fishermen are finding it difficult to change from their accustomed ways to logging and longshoring. Fortunately, Port Simpson has a reserve of timber and, therefore, forestry will continue to gain in importance as the fishing disappears.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

In British Columbia there is an Indian Advisory Committee. This body met in New Westminster in November, 1964, to discuss topics which are of intimate concern to Indians in the Province. Subjects covered community development, adult education, alcoholism control.

Also concerned with the problem of the Indian is the British Columbia Council of Women. This body has recently completed a study of the "Indian situation," in which many problems and ways to solve them have been considered.

Hawthorn's Study : A formidable study of British Columbia Indians, completed a few years ago, should also be noted at this juncture.[4] In 1954, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration commissioned the University of British Columbia to undertake an Indian research project under the directorship of Dr. Hawthorn. This study, begun in May 1954, was to assess the present situation of a segment of the Indians in Canada, possibly as a pilot study for more expensive research, and to obtain data and make recommendations which would lay the basis for future policy. The study was to include community and family life, resources, employment, education, law relationships, social welfare, and administration. It has been an immense study, and although the findings were complete by 1956, the report, in book form, did not appear until 1960.

The problems of the Indians were found to be so severe and so extensive that the only realistic remedies would either to be for an army of social workers to rehabilitate the Indians, or for a comprehensive program of community development to be initiated under the auspices of a reorganized Indian Affairs Branch.[5] The report also noted that any program would require adequate knowledge about the subject to be treated. "This report will facilitate the task of assessing the position of specific communities. But more detailed study will still need to be done when the administration plans intensive work in specific communities, for community development needs to be tailor-made and adaptable."[6]

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[4] Hawthorn, *Indians of British Columbia.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 429.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 430.

British Columbia still awaits a comprehensive program.

The Maritime Provinces

New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island constitute the maritime region, which is administered, as far as the Indian populations are concerned, from the Indian Affairs Regional Office at Amherst, Nova Scotia. In this area, two community development programs are being carried out at present. The first has been under contract, since 1959, to the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia. A staff of three field workers is provided by the Extension Department to serve the five Cape Breton Island Indian Reserves at Eskasoni, Whycocomagh, Middle River, Chapel Island and Sydney. Two other Reserves are similarly served at Afton and Pictou on the Nova Scotia mainland.

The second program is being carried out by two Indian Affairs community development officers, operating out of the Branch's Miramichi agency office at Chatham, New Brunswick. They are serving the Reserves of Burnt Church, Eel Ground and Red Bank. Projects undertaken in these areas involve a variety of activities focusing on the development of human resources, economic opportunities and physical aspects of the Reserve.[7]

Letters from the Sydney and Bridgetown representatives of the Adult Education Division, Department of Education for Nova Scotia, indicate also that the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University plans and directs most of the leadership training courses for Indians. The extension program has had the benefit of thirty years experience in this field. Popularly known as "The Antigonish Movement," its basis has been primarily educational although "the various co-operative activities which became identified with it can be regarded as the practical expression of the ideals and aspirations inspired by this program of adult study."[8] The theory behind the movement is that people in possession of information and knowledge about their situations will find their own way of improving their economic and social conditions.

Some of the available reports and programs of the short leadership courses, held in the Maritimes since 1957, indicate the considerable amount of development work that has taken place, and the religious flavour that has characterized it — St. Francis Xavier University being Catholic. Relevant also to community development, are the courses in social leadership conducted by the Coady International Institute of this University.

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[7] Letter from F. B. McKinnon, 11 March, 1965, File 88/1-10 (RSSP).

[8] Special Report Extract, Nova Scotia Credit Union League, *The Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement,* 1960.

The eight month course, leading to a diploma in social leadership, is designed for men and women from Canada and overseas, who wish to engage in community development and allied fields. The course consists of field work under the supervision of the Institute staff, assisted by fieldworkers from the Extension Department, and seminars with leaders experienced in co-operative marketing, fisheries, credit union organization, and educational techniques. Students also attend lectures by leaders in agriculture, welfare, labour and community development, besides following the regular curriculum, composed of instruction in the Antigonish Movement, Adult Education, Economic Co-operation and the fundamentals of the social sciences. Rudnicki says that at present ten Indians are taking the course, and that it is expected that some of them will be employed at the conclusion of the course either as Band managers or as community development assistants. "A special short course, designed to give them specialized skills directly related to the type of work that they will be doing, will be provided, probably during the summer months." [9]

In addition to the courses operated or contracted out by Indian Affairs, the Adult Education and Fitness Branch of the Department of Education in Fredericton states that a number of short Folk Schools for Indians have been conducted in the past years in New Brunswick. "While the programmes varied slightly — depending upon particular problems on each Reserve — most of these were two or three day programmes and the content included such topics as : Programme Planning, Recreation on the Reserve, the conduct of meetings, discussion techniques, etc." [10] These were planned in close co-operation with the Indian Affairs Branch and have ranged from encouraging more of the young people to complete their education, to recreation programs, nutrition and economic matters. The Department of Education in Nova Scotia, in addition to the contracted programs, also arranges and conducts folk schools in a similar manner.

The first of them, for Indians, was held at Kennetcock in November, 1958, and served as an experiment in a new kind of leadership training. It was modelled on the non-Indian folk schools which have been a feature of adult education in the Maritimes since early in the 1950's. The students lived in residence, the program was informal and there was a high degree of student participation. The sponsors were the Nova Scotia Division of Adult Education, and the Indian Affairs Branch. Staff assistance was provided by St. Francis Xavier University and the New Brunswick Adult Education and Fitness Branch.

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[9] ARDA, CAAE, ICEA, *National Consultation* (no page given).

[10] Letter from S. T. Spicer, 1 February, 1965.

There are other projects, some of which are related to the Adult Education Division and some of which are not.

(a) Musquodoboit River Valley Socio-Economic Study — a general survey, utilizing ARDA funds, of a rural area to provide background data as a corollary, to a flood control project. (Conducted by John Connor, Dept. of Economics, Acadia University.)

(b) Musquodoboit Valley Study of the Role of Education in Rural Development — a study of drop-out in the schools of the area with a view to determining cause and possible solutions to the problem. (Conducted by D. M. Connor, Dept. of Sociology, St. Francis Xavier University.)

(c) Dept. of National Health and Welfare Demonstration Project, Five Mile Plains — an initial socio-economic survey to establish a base point in the field of health, education, sociology and employment, to be followed by an intensive educational and social assistance program. (Conducted by John Connor, Dept. of Economics, Acadia University.)

(d) Yarmouth County Study in Economic Development — designed to provide information of a socio-economic nature as a possible baseline for future development programs. Segments covered are to include fishing, forestry, agriculture, industry, tourism, transport, education, and population trends. (Conducted by John Connor, Dept. of Economics, Acadia University.)

(e) A Feasibility Study to investigate the possibility and desirability of introducing alternative fishing techniques in an effort to revitalize a depressed fishing community on the South Shore.

(f) Overseas travel to study production of fabrics by means of power loom; with a view to introducing cottage industries in depressed rural areas.

(g) A plan to develop a community centre and a Handicrafts program in a depressed Negro community.[11]

Newfoundland

Newfoundland having eliminated its Indian population has no longer an "Indian problem." It has, however, a thriving community development program which helps fishermen's communities and farming settlements to work through their problems. "In such communities educational and economic problems run hand in hand with difficulties in co-operative societies and other institutions, and with inadequate or embryonic municipal organizations."[12] In such circumstances, the community development representative is called upon to advise and make arrangements for experts from ARDA and the federal and provincial authorities to help these communities improve their area economically.

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[11] ARDA, CAAE, ICEA, *op. cit.*

The community development program is but one part, although a significant one, of the Extension Service, Memorial University, St. John's. The Extension Department, established in 1959, also undertakes almost the entire burden of adult education as the Newfoundland Department of Education, being restricted by shortage of funds, operates only limited programs in adult continuation classes and vocational training. The arrangements for adult education differ, therefore, from those in the mainland of Canada. For example, whereas in most places school boards provide extensive adult education, in Newfoundland they are nowhere and in no way responsible for this. As Memorial University is the only University in the Province, and is likely to remain so, there is considerable pressure on its facilities.

These facts, as well as the ones following, have significance for any developmental or educational program.

> The average annual income per head in Newfoundland in 1963 was $972, as compared with the national average of $1,658. Educational opportunities, although improving rapidly, are still in many places inadequate — it is astonishing, in view of past and continuing heavy difficulties, that they are not worse. The Island's economy, traditionally precarious, remains so today despite confederation with Canada and the rise of the pulp and paper industry and mining to replace the fishery as the most important sources of wealth. As the Province's economy appears to improve, so the abundance of births helps to provide continuing heavy unemployment and a low average of personal incomes.[13]

The population of under half-a-million is for the most part scattered in small settlements around the coasts of the island. St. John's with eighty thousand people and Corner Brook with twenty-five thousand, together with a few smaller towns, are the exceptions. In view of this, the difficulties in administering an extensive community development program are manifold. A start, however, has been made.

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[12] *Annual Reports of Extension Service*, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1960-1964, p. 36.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1962, p. 1.

In 1963, a conference was held at Robinson's for the farmers and teachers, and was followed up by visits of the Extension representative. Another conference was held at Piccadilly for fishermen of the Port-au-Port area and nearly two hundred fishermen gathered to hear talks on fishing techniques and how to obtain aid from provincial and federal sources. A Port-au-Port Fishermen's Association was formed and decisions were taken on co-operative marketing. In Stephenville, groups of local businessmen were encouraged to study the economy of the area and to discuss means for improving it.

By the following year, a community development representative had moved to Stephenville, where he was better able to support the newly formed Fishermen's Association and Development Committee. Meanwhile the Port-au-Port Fishermen's Association had been able to secure excellent prices for its lobsters and to build storage sheds at various points. The association had also taken over the management of the fisheries building in Piccadilly. At the same time, community development work was begun among the fishing villages in Bonavista Bay, an area of particular importance because of its designation as an ARDA development area. Close touch has been maintained also with the improvement committee on Fogo Island and the development committee in Lewisporte.

Ontario

Although no comprehensive community development program is discernible in this province, the Community Programmes Branch of the Ontario Department of Education has undertaken the training of Indians in three areas of endeavour. The first of these is by means of Chiefs' and Councillors' Leadership or Training Courses, the second, Folk Schools, and the third, Community Recreation Projects.[14]

Chiefs' and Councillors' Residential Courses. These were started on a regional basis and initially involved only chiefs, councillors and their wives. Later, other leaders were encouraged to attend. Northwestern Ontario was the first region to arrange this type of course in 1957. Northeastern Ontario followed suit a few years later, when Indians from Reserves mainly in the District of Manitoulin, Parry Sound, Nipissing, Sudbury, Algoma, Muskoka, Temiscaming and Cochrane, attended courses at the National Council Y.M.C.A. Centre at Geneva Park in 1961 and 1962, and at the Youth Camp, Marygrove, in 1963 and 1964.

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[14] Letter from E. Saracuse, 19 February, 1965.

Indian Leadership Programs, as the chiefs' and councillors' courses have generally become renamed, were started in a third region, in Southwestern Ontario, in 1962. These have been conducted annually at Huron College at the University of Western Ontario. The first two courses were designed to serve the twenty-five Indian Bands in Southern Ontario, from St. Regis (Cornwall) in the east, to Walpole Island (Wallaceburg) in the west and to Parry Sound in the north. In 1964, the Institute was designed by and for the Bands in the area west of the Toronto-Orillia highway. A separate Institute was held for those Bands east of this highway. It was conducted by the Eastern Ontario regional office at Belleville.

Plans are underway for a fourth Institute to be held between 14 to 19 March, 1965. As Huron College facilities will be unavailable, it will be held at Fairbank House, Petrolia. This is a residential adult education centre established in 1963 to serve Lambton County and region.

The fourth region is that of Eastern Ontario whose first program took place at Deseronto in 1964, and the second at the same location in February, 1965. These courses have drawn delegates from Golden Lake, Peterborough, St. Regis and Tyendinaga.

The most recent regional course has been in Moose Factory, where the first James Bay Indian Leadership Training course took place in January, 1965, in an effort to take the training closer to potential delegates. Eighteen persons from five communities on the east coast of James Bay and Hudson Bay participated, and the indications are that the experience will be repeated.[15]

The Programmes Branch has been only one of the partners in this kind of training, along with the Indian Affairs and, in some cases, the University of Western Ontario and Quetico Conference and Training Centre. The responsibility of the Programmes Branch is to prepare the course content and to coordinate the actual training, while the Indian Affairs Branch has been responsible for recruiting delegates and assisting in the planning. Personnel from the latter have assisted in group discussions and workshops which have had their emphasis on such things as conducting meetings, program planning, effective speaking, government administration at the local level, and problem solving.

Through experience it has been found that the residential Chiefs' and Councillors' courses are too restrictive, and thus they have been expanded to include other potential leaders. This is now considered ineffective, too. Very few chiefs and councillors can spare the time away from their normal livelihood to attend courses several hundred miles away from their Reserves. Course registrations have been filled, therefore, from people who want a trip outside the Reserve or from those released from hospitals or other places of detention. While these persons have undoubtedly benefitted individually from the courses, few of them have been acknowledged as Band leaders.

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[15] Letter from D. McCubbin, 18 February, 1965.

One Branch representative from Toronto notes:

> My only observation, with respect to these training courses, is that I believe that the courses which I have attended dealt in a superficial way with the "problem." Courses which attempt to change attitudes rather than develop skills, or a combination of the two, would be more helpful. It seems to me that course organizers approach planning sessions with two many assumptions about the Indian, in terms of his objectives for himself, his family and his community. Indians don't usually correct wrong assumptions; they go through with the course, whether time is being wasted or not.[16]

The District Representative of the Programmes Branch for Northern Ontario writes that the Indian Affairs Branch and the Programmes Branch are trying a new approach this year.

> A series of two-day courses is being conducted on selected Reserves. These courses involve the Chief, Band Council and other community leaders who are potential chiefs and councillors. Following the two-day course a Band meeting is conducted. This reinforces the lesson plans and gives the Chiefs and Councillors an insight into how a Band meeting should be conducted. Peter Loonfoot can no longer hold the floor and ramble on about welfare, when the subject under discussion is housing. He is simply told that he is out of order and requested to sit down. The Reserves chosen for this pilot project are Big Trout Lake, Sandy Lake and Lac Seul. These Reserves are the administrative responsibility of the Sioux Lookout Indian Agency.[17]

It is not known whether the following comment of the Representative from Southwestern Ontario refers to the same project or another.

> It is hoped within the next 12 months to develop a team of Indian leaders drawn from the Bands in the Region who would be trained to conduct local "leadership workshops" on individual reserves. This plan is at present only in the thinking stage. However, we feel that team members could be selected from among those who have attended the above Leadership Institutes.[18]

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[16] Letter from F. E. Willock, 18 March, 1965.

[17] Letter from R. F. Lavack, 15 March, 1965.

[18] Letter from G. H. Miller, 17 February, 1965, (Enclosure detailing Programs in Southwestern Ontario).

Folk Schools : The second type of program undertaken by the Programmes Branch has been in providing resource materials and people to help run Folk Schools. The first of these schools was held in Craigleith in March, 1963, and involved representatives from ten Reserves of the four agencies from Simcoe, Bruce, Parry Sound and Christian Island. The theme for the first Folk School was "Changes in Home and Community Life," and the second, in 1964, was to do with progress through change.

Three more Folk Schools are planned for 1965 to be held in two new regions. The Advisor for Rural Programmes writes that the planning and conducting of Folk Schools is done through the field services of the Ontario Folk School Council, which is a voluntary body. Indian Affairs is the other partner and makes money available to the Council for conducting the courses. "There seems to be greater responsibility on the Indian Bands to select delegates and to help pay for some of their travelling expenses to the Folk Schools."[19] As Indians are involved in planning the programs they appear to derive great benefit from them.

Very little skill training is included in the Folk School courses, for their purpose is to help individuals gain better understanding of themselves and of their community. This is somewhat different to Leadership Institutes just described, in which community leaders are given the opportunity to develop skills in order to organize and administer their community more effectively.

Community Recreation Projects : The third program is that of Community Recreation of the type that has taken place on Christian Island. Assistance given, in this case, was to provide resource materials and advice. There have been other developments of this kind but there is no further information here, except that in Northwestern Ontario the Branch provided funds for the employment of a summer recreation person at Mobert. Miss Saracuse adds :

> The Indian Affairs Branch seems to be willing to buy services from Recreation Committees wherever arrangements have been made. To date the Christian Island one is the only one that has worked out on this basis. The Recreation Committee is reimbursed for its services by the Indian Affairs Branch and a limited amount from the Band Council Fund.[20]

In the Community Recreation Project on the Mobert Indian Reserve, in 1963, the financial arrangement was that the Community Programmes Branch would provide the Programme Director's salary, while the costs of operating and maintaining the program would be borne by the residents of Mobert through their Band Council and community organizations with assistance from Indian Affairs. The purpose of this experimental project was to determine whether recreation programs could be applied elsewhere. "It was also felt that the ~~residents through~~ this programme would acquire some skills and knowledge which would assist them to become more self-sufficient in organizing and conducting their own activities."[21] Although the emphasis was on recreation, the Programme Director was involved in a wide variety of community organizations and activities. Judging from the attendance records from nineteen activities, his two and a half months were extremely busy and well spent. Four of his recommendations are of interest to community development: (1) Potential leaders in social, creative and physical activities be given every opportunity to receive skill and leadership training, (2) every consideration to be given to hiring school teachers who have a basic knowledge of community recreation, (3) reference be made to the interest and needs of the residents in the purchase and installation of equipment and facilities, (4) consideration be given to conducting similar programs on other Indian Reserves.[22]

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[19] Letter from E. Saracuse, 19 February, 1965.
[20] *Ibid.*

While the courses described have been limited to Indian delegates, other courses, such as local workshops, area workshops, District Leader's Institutes and Provincial Leaders' Institutes are open to both Indian and white participants. These courses cover the arts, crafts and other options that develop leadership through a four phase plan.[23] Under this plan, a person can progress from being a student at the local workshop level to the area, district or provincial institute level and return to his community as an instructor. Many courses occur at the Residential Adult Education Institution of Quetico Conference and Training Centre, at Kawene, in Northwest Ontario, and some of them are financed under schedule 4 and 5 of the National Retraining Scheme.

> The Quetico Conference and Training Centre is a residential adult education centre serving the needs of people in Northwestern, Northern and Eastern Ontario and Western Manitoba. The Centre is a non-profit organization supported by fees charged to people using Centre services and by contributions from local industries, businesses, community service clubs, individuals and labor unions...

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[21] M. Glisinski, *Community Recreation Project. Mobert Indian Reserve,* Community Programmes Branch, Ontario Department of Education, Fort William, 1963, p. 1.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

[23] Letter from R. F. Lavack, 15 March, 1965, c.f. also *Financial Post,* October 3, 1964.

> The Centre has always been interested in working with Indian people and has offered courses especially suited to the needs of the Canadian Indian. When Quetico was named a retraining centre by the Provincial Government in early 1964 we began to plan courses geared to the needs of the "backwoods" people, including Indians. Courses include tourist guiding, tourist resort services (for women and girls), woodworking, pottery, graphics and homemaking. Courses were designed with Indian people in mind but there were a number of other people enrolled in all of them. While the emphasis on all of our retraining programs is for economic independence, the intellectual awakening that occurs from participating in educational activities is equally important. We have had numerous Indian and other people at these courses who are impoverished in many ways, not only economically, and who have benefitted even though they required additional training before being sufficiently upgraded to fit into employment.
>
> We are currently planning a literary education program for Indians and others to bring them up to a Grade 6 level so that they can fit into the usual community program 5 upgrading courses. Our program will be a 3-month course taught by staff from an Eastern Ontario college.[24]

Indian Affairs Projects : Two other courses in recreation are offered at the University of Guelph, and they are sponsored by the Community Programmes Branch and the Extension Department of the University, and organized as part of the educational program of the Ontario Agricultural College.

Indian Affairs Branch have been active throughout the province in work which could be construed as developmental. There is currently one community development officer in the field as a forerunner of the recently instituted program, but there is no information as to his whereabouts.

The most outstanding projects of the Indian Affairs Branch are those at the following locations. At the Kenora agency, the Indians have been trained, over the past few years, to operate their own fisheries, completely. They buy their own nets and other supplies, purchase their own licenses and negotiate for the sale of their fish. In general, they take care of all the matters affecting their fisheries which formerly were totally supervised by the Branch. Similar projects for the development of Indians are taking place in the Sioux Lookout, Nakina and James Bay agencies.[25]

Besides this, the realization that many Indians are capable of responsibility is permeating Indian Affairs throughout the province, as larger numbers of Bands become adept at handling their own welfare program in accordance with the General Welfare Assistance Act of Ontario. Three of the Bands in the Fort William region recently took over the administration of their revenue accounts for expenditure under Section 68 of the Indian Act. Under this section a Band administers the welfare payments on the Reserve and obtains a refund of eighty percent of the cost from the Ontario Department of Public Welfare. A member of the Band Council is elected as the welfare administrator to comply with the Act's provisions.

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[24] Letter from McIntosh, 23 March, 1965.
[25] Letter from G. S. Lapp, 15 February, 1965, File 81/1-2-9 (RS1).

Talking about the Southern Ontario plan of selecting qualified Indians to fill the positions of bank clerks or managers, in order to promote leadership, Hannin says that "the basic aim of the plan, good within its own content, is not to develop 'community leaders' but a liaison official who is a paid administrator with the status of an institutional leader. There is no indication of any professional training in community development, group dynamics or methods of adult education." [26]

This type of leadership is rarely progressive or democratic and merely substitutes an Indian for a white man.

> Very few of the requirements which research has found necessary for leadership in community projects are found either in the selection or training of the personnel or the planning or implementation of those programs. [27]

Indian-Eskimo Association : In a survey of work being done amongst Canada's largest Indian population, which approaches fifty thousand, some space should be accorded to the Ontario Committee of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. In their bulletin they refer to a three year program to promote action on behalf of Ontario's Indians, whose living conditions are amongst the worst in Canada, despite the province's wealth. [28] The assumption upon which the project is based is that, when the services of all organizations, public and voluntary, are coordinated, effective means can be found to improve economic conditions.

The first stage of the program calls for research on a regional basis. For this, Ontario has been divided into nine regions, patterned after the divisions established by the Ontario Department of Economics and Development. Each year, three of the nine regions will be studied by specialists who will involve the Indians in discussion about education, employment opportunities, housing and social life. Each year, three regional workshops will be held to consider these findings and to prepare for annual provincial conferences. These conferences are to assess needs, resources and the gaps in services, in order to develop new plans.

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[26] D. Hannin, "Fundamental Factors in the Selection and Training of Indigenous Adult Leaders for Community Projects on Ojibway Indian Reservations," Unpublished Master's Dissertation for Master of Science, Co-operative Extension Education, University of Wisconsin, 1964, p. 56.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[28] *Bulletin*, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Vol. 5, No. 2, March, 1964.

Accordingly, in 1964, the first year of the program, three areas were studied. These were in the Kenora ~~region in the~~ northwest, the Sudbury region in the northeast, and Wallaceburg in the southwest. By the end of three years, it is hoped that many thousands of people, Indian and white, will have been affected by the program. Even if it does nothing but bring into focus the problems existing in Ontario's Indian communities, it will have been successful. But it is also envisaged that opportunities for the development of Indian leaders will have evolved and that the many opportunities for propagating the concept of self-help will have had a salutary effect.

In addition to this program, the Indian-Eskimo Association sponsors a student volunteer service. This entails university students spending their summer in Eskimo settlements in the Northwest Territories to assist or supervise such projects as fish packing, sawmill or logging operations, and in Indian Reserves to organize recreation and adult education venture. They try to leave behind them an organizational structure which will enable the Eskimos and Indians to carry on after their departure. The students are unpaid, but all their expenses are covered by grants from the Indian Affairs Branch.

In connection with research which would make development work meaningful in Ontario, mention should be made of an essay by Paton and a thesis by Hannin.[29, 30] The essay was done as a result of field work at the Six Nations Indian Reserve, and it is a cultural and evolutionary ethnography. There are some intriguing observations about the ritual ceremonies of the Iroquois and valuable information about a non-Christian female ceremony in which the matrilineal head of the tribe takes precedence over the chief. Paton also discusses the economics, general characteristics of the community, and the government connections with the Reserve. He adds that Dr. Martin Meyer of the University in Provo, Utah, is currently publishing a book on the Iroquois from a social-anthropological view point.

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[29] J. D. Paton, untitled, undated.
[30] Hannin, *op. cit.*

Father Hannin of the Jesuit Mission in Sturgeon Falls, has written a guide for introducing a training program for Indian adults. The objective of the study is to see whether an analysis of research on leadership and planned change combined with information on cultural patterns can provide a basis for a program to select and train volunteer leaders for community projects on the Ojibway Indian Reserves in Ontario.

Saskatchewan

The government of Saskatchewan appears to be on the threshold of initiating a community development program with respect to the Indians and Metis who live in the northern regions of the province. The program will be in the Department of Natural Resources, which is responsible for both the human and natural resources in the north. The Indian and Metis Programs Branch is seen as an outgrowth of a three year study of research on factors affecting the social and economic development of northern settlements, conducted by the Centre for Community Studies and completed in 1963. The final report has provided, in addition to pure research, descriptions and analyses, a workable plan of action.[31]

According to this report, the population of Northern Saskatchewan amounts to approximately eleven thousand, excluding the mining community personnel. About five thousand five hundred are Metis, four thousand two hundred Treaty Indians and one thousand four hundred white. By 1971 the projected total will be between fifteen and seventeen thousand, which is approximately three times the population of thirty years ago. "Although the area is still thinly populated by comparison with almost any country in the world, the increase is very large in relation to the resources that support these people."[32] Furthermore, Northern Saskatchewan has one of the highest birth rates in the world — exceeded by only seven countries. In the last decade, statistics from the Northern Health District indicate rates ranging from a low of thirty-two per thousand to a high of forty-four per thousand, the average being thirty-nine per thousand. As these figures include the white population's birth rate, which is considerably lower than that of the Indians and Metis, the average for the latter is doubtless well above thirty-nine per thousand. Mortality figures are much less now than a decade ago, and this, combined with the high birth rate produces an exceptionally high rate of increase and the outlook is for this trend to continue. A factor of significance is the extreme youthfulness of the population. At present, half the population is less than fifteen years of age.

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[31] H. Buckley, J. E. M. Kew, J. B. Hawley, *The Indians and Metis of Northern Saskatchewan*, Centre for Community Studies, Saskatoon, 1963.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Throughout the north, in all communities, trapping and fishing are the main modes of existence. In many cases, communities have not only outgrown these sources of income, but the resources themselves have declined. As more than half the population in Northern Saskatchewan live in eight large villages, where the economic base is inadequate to maintain them, wholesale unemployment and chronic dependency on government welfare services have resulted. Supplementary industries, such as mining, having failed to absorb any number of Indians or Metis these people have been unable to contribute very much to the development of the north. In short, the inadequacy of the economy is starkly reflected in a worsening general level of living amongst almost all Indian and Metis settlements.

Poverty is reflected in a number of social aspects. Housing is, by Canadian standards of size and condition, deplorable. Material possessions scarcely exist. Furnishings are scanty and tools for trades, essential to life in remote area, are often lacking. From a health point of view, diets are, at once, monotonous and deficient.

The provincial government has been concerned with these problems for some years. In 1950 a fishermen's co-operative was inaugurated in Cumberland House, but it was not really until the Fort Black store was opened in 1955 that co-operatives were recognized as an effective means of involving local people in improving their economic activities. By now, there are at least ten fishing co-operatives in the north due to the continued effort of the Department of Co-operation and Co-operative Development.

Without doubt, the introduction of co-operatives in Northern Saskatchewan, and throughout Canada, has contributed much to the north. Co-operatives are not, however, a solution to the widespread and growing economic and social problems. "Without a great deal more help in the form of staff and funds for education and training, and of new programs to develop the economy — co-operatives will not solve very many problems." [33]

The Department of Natural Resources has conducted some short courses in community development techniques ~~for its fieldmen~~ and conservation officers, as well as some projectionist courses, in conjunction with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and the National

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Film Board. The plan for the development of the Indians and Metis, drawn up by the research staff, however, calls for a much more extensive program than this to be undertaken by the Department.

It centres around three objectives : (1) higher levels of living. (2)more choice and opportunity in all areas of life, including education, kind and place of residence, use of leisure time and so on, (3) greater participation in the northern and larger Canadian society —- from home and school activities, councils and associations, to management of business and local government.[34] The primary prerequisites are commitments to act and to spend the necessary funds. It has been observed that, while Canada contributes fifty million dollars a year to the Colombo Plan, it spends almost nothing on development programs here. Naturally, regions with huge populations in South East Asia claim more attention than Canada's enormous Northland which is sparsely populated. But the problem of the north cannot be wished away. There exists no inexpensive solution. The federal and provincial governments should be inevitaby committed to action.

In Saskatchewan the plan recommended requires that the Northern Affairs Branch of the Department of Natural Resources be the administration agency for instituting a development plan. This branch should have the power and ability to plan a much broader and ambitious range of action than has been attempted in the past, and to initiate and coordinate the activities of all provincial agencies operating in Northern Saskatchewan.

As in any provincial plan of this nature, federal co-operation would be essential.

> Ideally, a northern Saskatchewan development plan would be sponsored jointly under a federal-provincial agreement. Most emphatically, however, this is not a condition for its implementation. Indeed in view of the long delay inevitably associated with joint sponsorships immediate implementation by the Province is strongly favoured.[35]

In September, 1964, a new branch was established and placed in the Department of Natural Resources to avoid specific association with health, welfare or education. The aim of the Branch is not to establish and direct programs itself, but to serve, primarily, in planning and coordinating all groups in the province, federal and provincial, who may be of assistance in the development of a more dynamic and effective program.

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

The Branch will also include a community development staff whose responsibility will be to help and advise Indians and Metis councils. The staff will total about twenty persons, and at January, 1965, most of them had yet to be appointed.

Reference has been made to the Centre for Community Studies at Saskatoon. This organization was established in 1957 as a result of a Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life (1952-1956), headed by W. B. Baker, who was later appointed director of the Centre. To alleviate a threefold need, the Centre was accordingly set up to study (1) the development of Saskatchewan communities, (2) to act as consultants to organizations and agencies interested in programs of community development, and (3) to offer opportunities for in-service training of professional personnel engaged in community services. Thus the Centre, which is an independent body with a board representing the University of Saskatchewan and the government, works in the three areas of research, consultation and training. It is financed from government grants and from contracts with private and public agencies.

The first undertaking was in April, 1959, when a one-week course was attended by fifty government staff persons who were instructed in community development principles. Another course followed a year later with sixty participants, and a third course in April, 1961, took place with seventy-five attending.[36]

The main emphasis in the contracted programs has been research with training as a supplement. It will have been observed from the preceding comments on the three year contract of the Department of Natural Resources, that analysis of factors affecting settlement in the north has provided a useful and realistic basis against which to critically evaluate the applicability of community development.

Judging from the cogency of the reports and studies prepared by the staff of the Centre, work of considerable importance has been produced during the last few years.[37] Following a change in government in 1964, the Centre's operating budget was curtailed drastically, but those projects still under contract to such organizations as ARDA and Central Mortgage and Housing were to continue. The future of the Centre is thus assured until 1966 at least, and the highly trained personnel are still to be retained until the research is completed.

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[36] *Northern Community Newsletter*, No. 1, Vol. 3, 1962.

[37] See, for example, the series on Developing Saskatchewan's Community Resources, Centre for Community Studies, Saskatoon.

The foregoing concerns provincial enterprises with respect to Indians and Metis. Federal departments are active as well. The first leadership course for Indians was held in Valley Centre in Fort Qu'Appelle in March, 1964. Subjects covered during the week were extensive and included such things as community organization, alcohol, education, Band Council operation, co-operatives, credit unions, adult education and conduct of meetings. The twenty-five delegates from twenty Bands seem to have responded positively to this course, organized jointly by the Indian Affairs and the Citizenship Branches of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, but it is not known whether the experience is to be repeated in 1965.

Recently, the planning of a summer project in 1965 to involve students in field work in Indian and Metis communities, is the outcome of a Canadian Union of Students' conference at the University of Saskatchewan in February, 1965.[38] The project will serve a double purpose; the students will learn about the problems in the communities and, where possible, make available information which may assist the people to solve their problems. The project is structured for the partnership approach in order to avoid paternalistic imposition of solutions.

To teach the basic skills of community development, a two week training session will commence May 10. The field work will last about three months, and students, both single and married, will be selected for work in isolated and urban areas throughout Saskatchewan.

Involved in the planning are Indian chiefs, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI), the Metis Association of Saskatchewan (MAS), Friendship Centres, Indian-Eskimo Association, student organizations and experts from universities. Finances are being solicited from the native organizations as well as other foundations. Individual donations and money from university funds are also being sought.

The University of Saskatchewan's Extension Division is also proposing a series of in-service training short courses to run periodically from 1965 to 1968.[39] These are designed for persons in community work and will cover the use of social sciences, principles and practice of community development, including administration and policy, and methods and media in continuing education.

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[38] Student Neestow Partnership Project, 1965, University of Saskatchewan.

[39] Extension Department of University of Saskatchewan, *Professional Development in Continuing Education, Proposed Series of In-Service Training Short Courses*, Saskatoon, January, 1965.

Projects and limited programs of community development found in those provinces who have not yet established comprehensive general development programs have been examined in this chapter. Saskatchewan has planned an Indian and Metis Programs Branch, but as there are not yet staff to operate it, and as it is not known whether the program will affect southern Saskatchewan, inclusion in the previous chapter was not considered advisable.

Almost all the remaining projects or programs in British Columbia, The Maritimes, Newfoundland and Ontario are specialist in nature. That is to say, they have been found to lack one or more of the facets required for inclusion in the general category of community development.[40] In fact, many of them, having been directed from educational establishments, have tended to rely on instruction in residential settings, rather than on self-help on the Reserve. Newfoundland has been the biggest exception, but there have been exceptions in the other provinces too.

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[40] See page 9.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This chapter contains observations about the programs of community development described in the preceding pages. The programs have been placed in the administrative classification, noted in chapter one, in an attempt to give a coherent picture of the present state of community development in Canada. The chapter has ended with a discussion on the way evaluation of community development projects is conducted in other countries. Before embarking on these topics, a few remarks on a plan for economic development and on the subject of research pertinent to this study have been made.

Research

Throughout this study, there have been sundry allusions to various research projects. It is now clear that meaningful policy and legislation must be based on thorough, continuous and relevant research. Although it is difficult to plan national policies, when every community is different and has differing requirements, there do exist common needs. Research, to discover what they are, is essential. So far, there have been few attempts to undertake systematic studies on a comprehensive scale and there is a need for more work as far-reaching as that carried out, for example, by Hawthorn and his associates into the problems of the Indians of British Columbia. It would appear that there is a movement towards this now, as several research projects have been commissioned recently.

In this connection, the Gaspé program has been mentioned and, so also, have the four studies on poverty commissioned by the Department of Health and Welfare. Doctor Hawthorn, assisted by Doctor Adélard Tremblay of Laval University, is again directing a project concerning Indians. This time it is a national research project, and its principal task is to assess the participation by Indians in the social and economic life of Canada.

> Although the researchers will examine other matters, the four major areas of interest are economic development; advancement in education; responsibilities that exist at various government levels in regard to Indians; and the functions of band councils and the development of self-government.[1]

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[1] J. D'Astous, Address to British Columbia Council of Women, Vancouver, B. C., November 18, 1964, p. 5.

This project started in 1963 and while it continues, there must be the extension of existing programs and the provision of new ones to meet the problems of the moment. New programs will have to remain flexible enough for the recommendations of the research to build upon. Ways in which all standard services available to the white population can be extended to Indian communities must be continually sought. To this end, a continuing committee of officials from federal, provincial and municipal governments, was established in October, 1964, to consider in which ways the presently existing piecemeal services could be administered more efficiently in Indian communities. In addition, regional Indian Advisory Committees were planned to secure the Indian viewpoint on all proposals concerning Indians.[2]

Economic Development

Recently, the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada submitted to the federal authorities a comprehensive plan for the economic development of Indian Reservations.[3] The necessity for a crash program was based on a number of startling statistics. Here are some of them. The Indian population is much younger than the general population; sixty percent are under twenty-one years compared with forty percent for the Canadian average. The Indian population is growing twice as rapidly as the white population. Almost half the total of Indian families earn less than one thousand dollars a year, which is between one fifth and one quarter of the national average. Unemployment figures, based on United States statistics, are eight to ten times the official national average and run between forty to fifty percent. About thirty-six percent of the Indian population is on relief, while the national average is three and one half percent. Ninety percent of all housing is inadequate, unsanitary and dangerous. Ill-health is prevalent and infant and adult mortality rates are well above the national average, and ten times more Indian than white children are taken into protective custody.

The plan regards employment and industry as being more important than education and social development at this time. There is some justification for saying this. The success of any program for improved housing, health, welfare or general community development depends on a strong base which will provide the essentials for self-help. By stressing economic aid for the Reserve, it is believed that the Reserve will become, ultimately, once again a healthy place for the Indian to live in.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[3] M. O'Connell, *An Economic Development Plan for Indian Reserve Communities in Canada*, Ontario Committee of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1964.

While many of the plan's proposals are now incorporated in the new Indian Affairs legislation, the Indian-Eskimo Association's suggestion for an economic development agency to be located in a reorganized Indian Affairs Branch is unlikely to be implemented. This proposal calls for the agency to administer a fund of $25,000,000 to be used for loans and grants-in-aid for research and other projects. The agency would also act as the coordinating body to ensure extension to Reserves of such programs as ARDA, adult education, leadership, vocational and technical training.

While these proposals are admirable, they take little account of the expense involved in their implementation. Governments are reluctant to expend large sums of money on things to which a low priority has been accorded. In Canada, community development is one of these things because the "native" population amounts to little over one percent of the total population and, therefore, merits no more than a proportionate expenditure.

The discovery that poverty, previously thought to afflict only Indians, Metis and Eskimos, extends to perhaps twenty-five percent of the total population is responsible for a new trend in government thinking. Evidence for a "developmental" philosophy has recently appeared in the April, 1965, Speech from the Throne, in which the government committed itself, amongst other things, to a "war on poverty."

The lack of a "developmental" policy has been one of the reasons that there is, at this time, no national community development program, which extends to all disadvantaged Canadians. The immense administrative problems involved in applying a federal plan throughout the provinces, no doubt, has been another. Experience gained from the ARDA program would indicate that the introduction of a multitude of *ad hoc* projects for land use, etc., poses no serious problem from the administrative point of view. On the other hand, an on-going program concerned with social development would necessitate an intricate bureaucratic structure based on decentralized administration. To examine how the ARDA program will avoid duplication or competition with the Indian Affairs program of the provincial programs, exceeds the scope of this study. It is also too early to make observations as the new program has not yet started.

ARDA is the only national program designed to reach more than the traditionally deprived Indian or Eskimo community. Whether the administrative structure that is being formulated at present can ultimately predict the way in which community development can be extended to all Canadian people who require the service, must also remain a moot question at this time.

Specific details about the administrative aspects of the Indian Affairs programs are not available for this study. It is therefore not known precisely how the Department concerned will manage to translate its policy into action at the local level.

Classification of Programs

The details about the Indian Affairs program that are available, however, would indicate that it could be classified, with one or two reservations, as an integrative type. The classification in chapter two,[4] showing the typical features of integrative, adaptive and project programs, was mentioned to see if any of the programs in Canada could be compared with programs elsewhere. Although the classification is rudimentary, it does indicate the scope of the programs, their administrative qualities, and how each deviates from the model.

The responsibility for administering an integrative program is usually, vested in a new ministry established specifically for that purpose. That the administration of the Indian program will remain the traditional "ministry" for Indian Affairs (albeit a drastically reorganized one), illustrates the adaptive quality of this particular program. Perhaps the major reason for keeping the responsibility within a functional ministry, rather than a neutral one, is that, although the program is countrywide in scope, its application is only to Indian people.

Several aspects of the program belong essentially to the integrating program. The coordination of technical services at all levels of government is ,one of them. Another is the decentralization of authority to enable a coherent application of these services locally. The third entails the generalist community development worker or officer interpreting national purpose to local people, helping translate their needs into action, acting as a link between them and the technical services and bringing to the villagers' attention funds and other grants.

The possibility that this program will compete with provincial programs has been raised in Alberta, because it would appear that there will exist two more or less similar Indian programs of their own. Whether the Indians will view them as competing with one another, remains to be seen.

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[4] See pages 14-16.

Turning now to the provinces, is it possible to classify their programs ? Manitoba's program appears to have project, adaptive and integrative features. When initiated, the community development service was adapted to the existing structure of the Department of Public Welfare but, as the function of the new service was to be economic development and social organization, this Department could be considered to possess the neutrality desirable in an integrative type of program. In other words, the administration being placed within the welfare department did not necessarily mean solely an increased welfare program.

As Dallyn has observed, although the program covers a wide front, it tends to be "project oriented." [5] That is taken to mean that the various projects continue in an undisciplined, unconnected way, lacking a statement of provincial purpose. Although the program is province-wide, it only has application to people of Indian Ancestry — and, in practice, affects only a fraction of them.

Were Manitoba's program integrative, the necessity for community development would be integrated in the government's political philosophy and would extend to all disadvantaged groups, not only the Indians and Metis. There would also be a coordinating committee to ensure than any national developmental policy could be related to what the Province was doing. When the Manitoba service was created, no federal commitment in this respect was available, and therefore, the necessity to provide such a link was not apparent. Liaison, however, was effected through the Indian Affairs Branch, which had financial obligations connected with the program, and which also assisted in its planning. At the present time, it is not known whether there is any more formal connection with federal departments.

At the provincial cabinet level, there is the essential administrative machinery for coordinating the activities of the ministries of labour, industry and commerce, mines and natural resources, and agriculture and conservation. This type of inter-ministry committee, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Health and Public Welfare, is more a feature of the integrative than the adaptive program. In the adaptive program, for example, liaison between the community development authority and a technical service is often on an informal basis and occurs whenever a need arises which requires short term intervention.

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[5] Dallyn, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The Alberta program differs little from that of Manitoba, except that its Community Development Branch is attached to the Department of Industry and Commerce. Here again, the new branch has been adapted to the existing bureaucratic structure, but the Department itself, can claim to be a neutral rather than a functional ministry. By being "non-partisan," it can readily obtain the co-operation of the other ministries. There exists an inter-ministry coordination committee, similar to that in Manitoba, but, in addition, a federal-provincial committee, consisting of four representatives from the Indian Affairs Branch and four from the Community Development Branch, plan together all activities concerning the Indians.

Once again, the program is designed to affect only the Indians and Metis, and is a joint venture between the federal and provincial governments, with the province administering it and the federal government contributing to its maintenance.

From the scanty details available for this study about the situation in Quebec, it appears that the administrative framework is unique in Canada. While it is clear that the program contains a variety of projects, these do not constitute either an adaptive or integrative program. Both the federal and provincial governments are concerned in this joint venture, but instead of working through a provincial government body, they coordinate their activities through a private concern (BAEQ). Consequently, community development in Quebec, at present, is not a function of the provincial government, nor does it extend to more than a few of Quebec's people. It may be regarded, on the other hand, as basically non-discriminatory, as it applies to any disadvantaged person, not only to the Indian. It is not known yet, whether the program will be extended to other parts of the province.

In Nova Scotia, where the Division of Social Development has been added to the Department of Public Welfare, a program has been initiated to serve semi-urban people. Most of these people are a provincial responsibility and, therefore, there is not the necessity for a federal coordination committee. If the Division extends its sphere of influence to Indian people, presumably the structure will have to be altered accordingly.

Because the initial activities will be confined to a few communities at first, this would indicate that Nova Scotia has a project focused program. There are adaptive features, however, since the program has a central organization within the government. It is at this level that the services of technical ministries can be coordinated and arrangements for extending the work of the Division can be implemented, when required.

Should the Division's program expand, the administrative arrangements may change to an integrative type through which the coordination necessary for work amongst all types of people, Indian, Negro and white, might be effected.

Saskatchewan is about to introduce a community development program, and its structure will be the result of meticulous planning. From the few details available, it would seem to possess most of the factors of an integrative type of program. It will be provincewide, possess a committee to coordinate services at all levels and will have a decentralized administration to ensure coherence of services locally. The administrative responsibility will be placed in a neutral ministry and the Director of Development will act as an advisor to a cabinet level committee. It is not known what arrangements have been made with the federal government, but there will probably be a committee similar to the one in Alberta, since both programs apply in a similar fashion to Indians, as well as Metis.

Programs Outside Classification

The remaining provinces do not have departments, divisions or branches to administer general community development programs. Nevertheless, all have developmental programs, even though they are usually specialist in nature, that is, they emphasize a particular aspect, such as leadership training or adult education rather than overall development. Hannin differentiates adult education from community development, although he acknowledges that their philosophic content is fundamentally the same.[6] Both help people to help themselves.

> However adult education seems more basic, a prerequisite for community development. How can local people learn to plan, organize and execute programs without going through some educational process?... Community development or organization depends on two things — information and leadership. An adult education program is necessary to give information and to train leaders.[7]

Ontario has developed an extensive program of adult education and leadership training. So also have British Columbia, the Maritimes and Newfoundland. Adult education has also accompanied the community development programs in the provinces mentioned above. Can the education and training projects be said to have provided a base of information and leadership upon which community development can build? Probably not, because they have been far too few in number, they have been irregular in quality and have commented that many of those in Ontario have been a failure.[8] Hannin gives four causes for this:

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[6] D. Hannin, *The Adult Education Program of the Jesuit Ontario Missions*, Regional Office, Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, 1964, p. 6.

[7] *Ibid.*

1. Acceptance of the training program by the majority of the Band has not been obtained prior to its initiation.
2. Leadership and committee training has not been held within the confines of the Reserve and has resulted in the home group being unable to identify with, and observe from, the training. In other words, the "cultural island" theory which divorces leadership personnel from the home base, is tantamount to encouraging a continuation of the *status quo* authoritarianism of the Indian Affairs Branch, by substituting an Indian for the white man. This is regarded by Hannin as a negation of community development principles.
3. There is usually little evaluation of the training course at the community level although the participants of a given course have usually evaluated the worth to themselves.
4. No continued supervision, guidance of new trainees or follow-up program has been included in the majority of adult education undertakings.[9]

Newfoundland has an adult education and a community development program, both managed by the University's Extension Department. In the latter program, workers selected for the task, undertake specific projects to promote general development of villages or regions. In such areas the worker is required to coordinate ARDA and provincial aid himself, without reference or reliance on a structured bureaucracy to advise or aid him. There are a few other examples of this type of "free agent" development, but, by and large, individual projects do not occur frequently in Canada.

Poverty

Primarily through the results of ARDA's research, poverty has been found to extend far beyond the boundaries of Reserves, Eskimo settlements or Negro ghettoes. Yet, even the most recent programs remain focused upon the amelioration of traditional problems of the traditional poor. No fundamentally new program has been planned in Canada, except under the ARDA legislation and perhaps in Nova Scotia. All programs, without exception, are administered through existing government departments adapted to accommodate a new function. There is no new department, either at federal or provincial levels, designed exclusively to administer community development.

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[8] See page 67 and page 71.
[9] Hannin, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

The entrance of ARDA into the social development field and the new legislation of the Indian Affairs Branch indicate that Canada is moving towards a serious attempt at alleviating the problem of poverty. Inherent in these programs is a national purpose for development, even though there may be a suggestion abroad that programs will tend to duplicate each other. Whether they will or not is impossible to say, since neither of them are yet operative, but one may speculate that, even if they do, their total impact will still be insufficient to meet an ever increasing problem.

There are other important topics which must, for the time being, be speculative. How will the Indian view the three types of programs operating on Reserves in his province ? Will he regard one to be superior to the others ? And how will the community worker react, finding that there are three different salary rates for exactly the same work ? Should all programs be successful, will the Indian then become "advantaged" ?

To answer these questions goes beyond the realm of reality at this time. It is sufficient perhaps to observe that change will not come overnight; nor will it come until the government puts a higher priority on community development and invests more money in it. If this is ever to happen, consideration must be given to evaluating programs in order to show, by accounting for the public money spent, that they achieve results. Programs, therefore, must be evaluated externally in the interests of the public, and internally throughout the development agency in the interests of efficiency.

Need for evaluation

Many governments are wary of setting up evaluatory processes because the large amount of criticism, that sometimes rebounds on the minister concerned, can result in unfortunate political consequences. It is probably with this in mind, that many of the annual and periodic reports, which characterize the community development programs in Canada are circumspect. Very few figures are given, and often facts are misleading. In order to correct faulty programs, it is more essential to know speedily about lack of success than it is to know about success. DuSautoy writes :

> Community development needs a pragmatic approach to human development. It is equally necessary to adopt a pragmatic approach in assessing the results, while realizing that some of them, such as a heightened spirit of leadership, self reliance, and a democratic approach to development, cannot be assessed by statistics, but only by a charged climate of public attitudes and opinion.[10]

But statistics can be produced from community development projects, and they have yielded results in terms of increased efficiency, reduced clerical work, and in persuading politicians to support programs of community development.

Computer Reporting System

The Community Development Foundation is using a statistical computer-aided reporting system to administer an expansive food-aided community development throughout Mexico.[11] This system releases a project director and his staff from lengthy and expensive clerical drudgery to concentrate on services requiring their special competence. The computor produces monthly reports speedily and inexpensively which show at a glance the status of all projects throughout the country. The administrator, who has experience in reading these reports, can anticipate when a project is not progressing appropriately and take steps to rectify the problem before it becomes acute. Therefore, administrative costs are low, projects are run efficiently and effective control with fewer personnel is maintained. This type of reporting has created a favourable impression on the various ministries concerned, because the Foundation has been able to justify expenditures with statistics which give concrete evidence of progress being made and results being achieved. In addition, systematic reporting has provided guidance to the government regarding the types of improvtment most likely to succeed, thus serving as a guide for the evolution of national plans for social and economic progress.

Each month the Foundation publishes two reports, the Report by Activity and the Report by Type, in order to consolidate the data from widely scattered projects and the activities connected thereto. Besides these two reports, a Report on Accomplishments is being programmed currently in order to determine the norms for a given type of project. This will facilitate planning for personnel and cost. Leet writes: "It would be advantageous, for example, to know how many man-days, on the average, are required to complete one kilometer of dirt road of a given width, or the number of man-days required to construct a school building of two rooms."[12]

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[10] P. DuSautoy, *The Organization of a Community Development Programme*, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, p. 120.

[11] G. Leet, *Computer Aided Community Development Reporting in Mexico*, Community Development Foundation, New York, 1964.

Leet raises another point of significance to recording. He observes that there is much community development activity which happens spontaneously through traditional methods and which goes unnoticed. In recently independent countries there has been an acceleration of this type, and some of it is a result of the new spirit of independence sweeping the world. As this work goes unrecorded, national planners ignore it.

> This is unfortunate, because it is a tremendous resource, and also because community action is greatly stimulated when a reporting system is established which gives village people a sense of pride knowing that their community service is known and recognized as important to national building.[13]

Certain countries have already established computer reporting, and others are considering doing so. A system, similar to that in Mexico, has been in use in the Dominican Republic for some time, and the Ministry of Cooperatives and Community Development in Tanganyika (Tanzania) has signed an agreement with Community Development Foundation, under which technical assistance will be provided to establish a system. Enquiries have also been received about methods and data processing from Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Algeria, Burundi, Korea, Greece, Laos, Malaysia, Lebanon and the Philippines.

One of the objectives of this, the United Nations Development Decade, is to prepare regular reports and exchange information about methods and experiences of various action programs. To facilitate a more effective reporting, it has been suggested that a world-wide system be established. Reports would thus show by countries, number of people participating, numbers of days of work contributed, expenditures and results.

It took over a year to work out the basic system for Mexico, the programming and the handbooks and instructions. It would be easier to utilize the same system to the needs of different countries than develop individual systems for each country. Though it would be complicated, "it is a task of manageable proportion if electronic data processing equipment is utilized." [14]

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

It is no accident that this study began with a discussion of community development in underdeveloped lands, because it is in these countries that the techniques, which are now in use in Canada, were developed. In closing, reference is once again made to these lands, because it is in them that the most recent advances in community development have been made. No one would suggest that any program or method can be transferred from an emergent to an industrialized nation without alteration, but failure to acknowledge and consider striking advances, such as those in computer recording, would be regrettable.

It could be the topic of further research to study how such a system could be introduced in Canada.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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APPENDIX

Names and addresses of some of the people and organizations contacted for information.

Federal Government Departments

John H. Lagassé, Acting Director, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa 4, Ontario.
A. T. Davidson, Director ARDA, Department of Forestry, Ottawa, Ontario.
D. F. Symington, Information-Education Consultant ARDA, Department of Forestry, Ottawa, Ontario.
W. A. Dyson, Community Development Consultant, Department of National Health and Welfare, Brooke Claxton Building, Ottawa, Ontario.
Irene Baird, Chief, Information Services, Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa 4, Ontario.

Indian Affairs Branches

R. L. Boulanger, Surveillant Régional, I.A.B., C. P. 430, Haute-Ville, Québec 4, P. Q.
C. I. Fairholm, Senior Administrative Officer, I.A.B., Ottawa 2, Ontario.
A. E. Fry, Indian Superintendent, I.A.B., Yukon Indian Agency, Box 2110, Whitehorse, Y.T.
G. S. Lapp, Regional Supervisor, I.A.B., 407 Victoria Ave., Fort Williams, Ontario.
J. G. McGilp, Regional Supervisor, I.A.B., 216 Federal Building, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
F. B. McKinnon, Regional Supervisor, I.A.B., P.O. Drawer 160, Amherst, N.S.
R. D. Ragan, Regional Supervisor, I.A.B., 716 Federal Building, Edmonton, Alberta.
W. Rudnicki, Chief, Social Programs Division, I.A.B., Ottawa 2, Ontario.

Citizenship Branches

A. S. Arnason, Regional Liaison Officer, 306 London Building, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
C. F. Brouillard, National Liaison Officer, Ottawa 2, Ontario.
R. S. Hall, Regional Liaison Officer, 55 St. Clair Avenue East, Toronto 7, Ontario.
W. M. Hlady, Regional Liaison Officer, 605 Dominion Building, Winnipeg 1, Manitoba.
R. G. Wray, Regional Liaison Officer, 10534 — 100 St., Edmonton, Alberta.
S. Zybala, Regional Liaison Officer (North Ontario), P. O. Box 1001, Sudbury, Ontario.

Provincial Government Departments

F. H. Compton, Director, Community Development Services, Department of Welfare, 1181 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg 10, Manitoba.

G. H. Matthews, Director of Social Service, Department of Public Welfare, Halifax, N.S.

J. R. Whitford, Provincial Co-ordinator of Community Development, Community Development Branch, Department of Industry and Development, Room 243 Highways Building, Edmonton, Alberta.

Departments of Education

British Columbia

A. L. Cartier, Director, Adult Education, Victoria, B.C.

New Brunswick

S. T. Spicer, Director, Adult Education and Fitness Branch, P. O. Box 804, Fredericton, N.B.

Nova Scotia

T. Jones, Supervisor, Adult Education Division, Bridgetown, Anna Co., N.S.

Ontario

R. F. Lavack, District Representative, P. O. Box 1949, Dryden, Ontario.

D. McCubbin, Representative, No. 13 — Medical Arts Building, North Bay, Ontario.

G. H. Miller, Representative, 371 Richmond Street, London, Ontario.

D. W. Maddocks, District Representative, 379 Front Street, Belleville, Ontario.

J. D. Paton, Representative, 341 Kerr Street North, Oakville, Ontario.

L.-P. Poirier, Representative, No. 4, Gillin Building, 1581 Bank Street, Ottawa 8, Ontario.

Eleanor Saracuse (Miss), Advisor, Rural Programmes, 559 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5, Ontario.

I. B. McCauley, Representative, 400 Catherine Street, Fort William, Ontario.

L. E. Stanbridge, Representative, P. O. Box 418, Hanover, Ontario.

F. E. Willock, Representative, 40 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto 12, Ontario.

D. L. Minshall, Coordinator, Recreation Courses, Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Ontario.

A. M. Thomas, Executive Director, Canadian Association of Adult Education, 113 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario.

University Departments

G. A. Eyford, Assistant Director, Department of Extension, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Dr. J. Rousseau, Centre d'Études Nordiques, University Laval, Québec, P.Q.

Sheila Goldbloom (Mrs.), Lecturer, McGill University, School of Social Work, 3506 University Street, Montreal, P.Q.

Audrey MacDougall, Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, P. O. Box 5, Sydney, N.S.

Centre for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Director of Extension, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns, Newfoundland.

Educational Institutes

Rev. J. F. Glasgow, Assistant Director, Coady International Institute of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S.

C. M. McIntosh, Director, Quetico Conference and Training Centre, Box 100, Atikokan, Ontario.

Miscellaneous

Iris, E. Bailey, Publication and Technical Services Branch, Communications Resources Staff, Department of State, Agency for International Development, Washington 25, D.C.

H. D. Crowell, Executive Director, Family and Children's Services of Hants County, Windsor, N.S.

Rev. D. Hannin, S.J., Garden Village, P. O. Box 1240, Sturgeon Falls, Ontario.

E. R. McEwen, Executive Director, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 47 Dundonald Street, Toronto 5, Ontario.

Persons Consulted in British Columbia

Shirley Arnold (Miss), Welfare Consultant, Indian Affairs Branch, 325 Granville Street, Vancouver, B.C.

Marjorie V. Smith (Miss) and T. S. Brown, Department of Extension, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, B.C.

E. B. Sexsmith, Regional Liaison Officer, Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 325 Granville Street, Vancouver, B.C.

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